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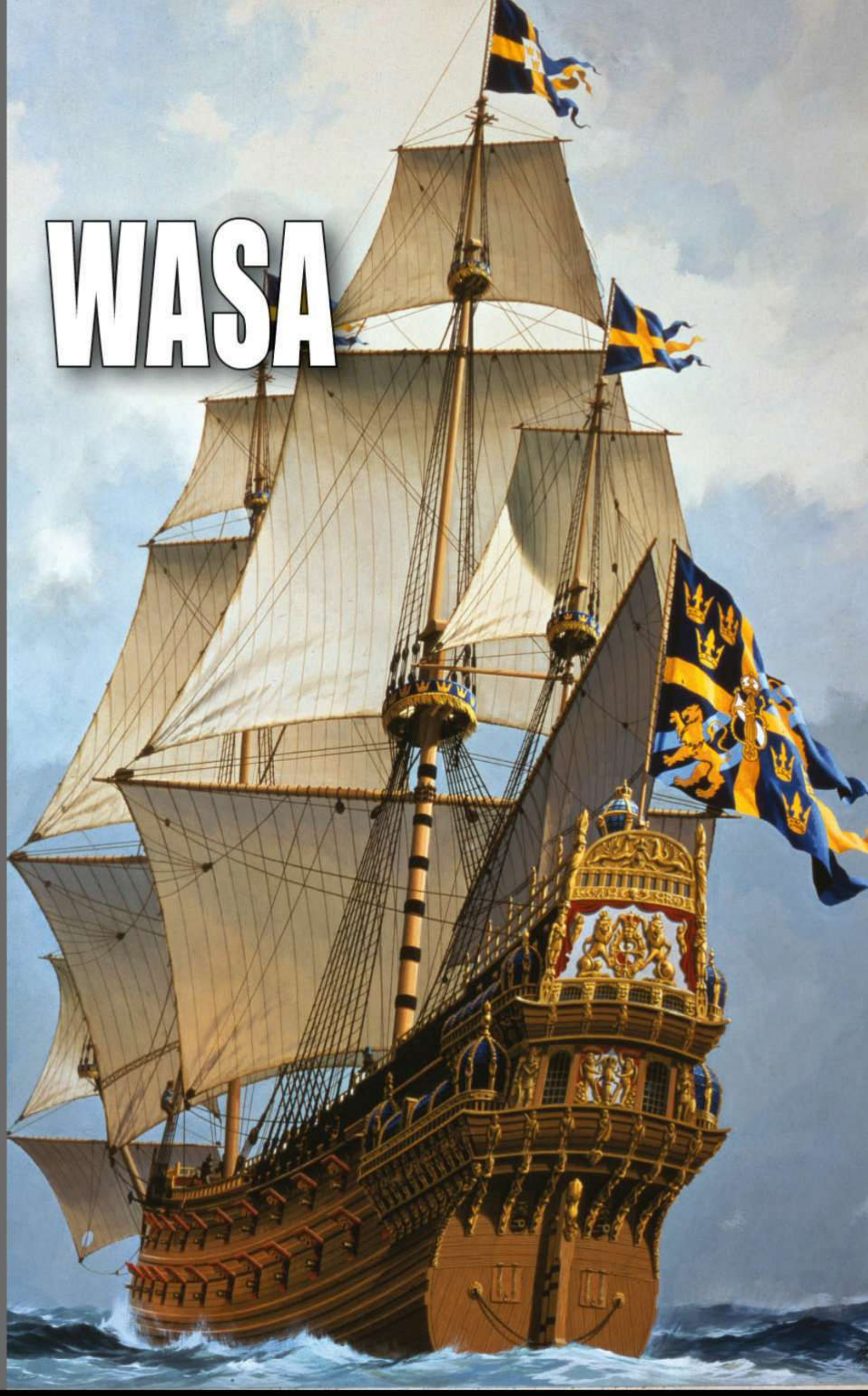

WASA

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Mould Tools made in 1971, pack Illustration by Brian Knight, 1971.

In 1628 the Wasa disastrously keeled over and sank in Stockholm harbour at the start of it's maiden voyage. It was one of four ships built at the time to strengthen the Swedish Navy against a potential invasion. She was raised in 1961, approximately 333 years later, and is now on display in a permanent restoration site in Stockholm.

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Martin Luther King Jr leads the march from Selma to Montgomery flanked by Coretta Scott King and, furthest left, future congressman John Lewis

Welcome

It's extraordinary how relevant and poignant the words of Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X remain after 60 years. Often quoted, sadly not always fully understood, these two men shaped a great deal of the vocabulary of racial justice around the globe. Reflecting on this is part of why we wanted to put both of them front and centre of this issue. While they have so often been considered in opposition to one another, we wanted to look at how they actually contrasted and inspired each other as well.

In exploring this idea we could ask for no better guide than Dr Peniel E Joseph, author of *The Sword And The Shield*, a book released earlier this year that explores precisely the idea that Dr King and Malcolm X evolved and strengthened thanks to their ideological and rhetorical back and forth. It was a pleasure to speak with Dr Joseph and I hope you get as much from it as I did.

It was equally enlightening and enjoyable to discuss Black Tudors with Dr Miranda Kaufmann, uncovering the lost figures of such a heavily discussed period of history, and to learn about the Caribbean pilots who joined the RAF in World War II. As we mark Black History Month in the UK this October, it seemed only right to delve into stories such as these this issue. I hope you enjoy reading them as well as all the other excellent content we have to offer in the following pages.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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Malcolm vs Martin

Exploring the complex relationship between these iconic leaders

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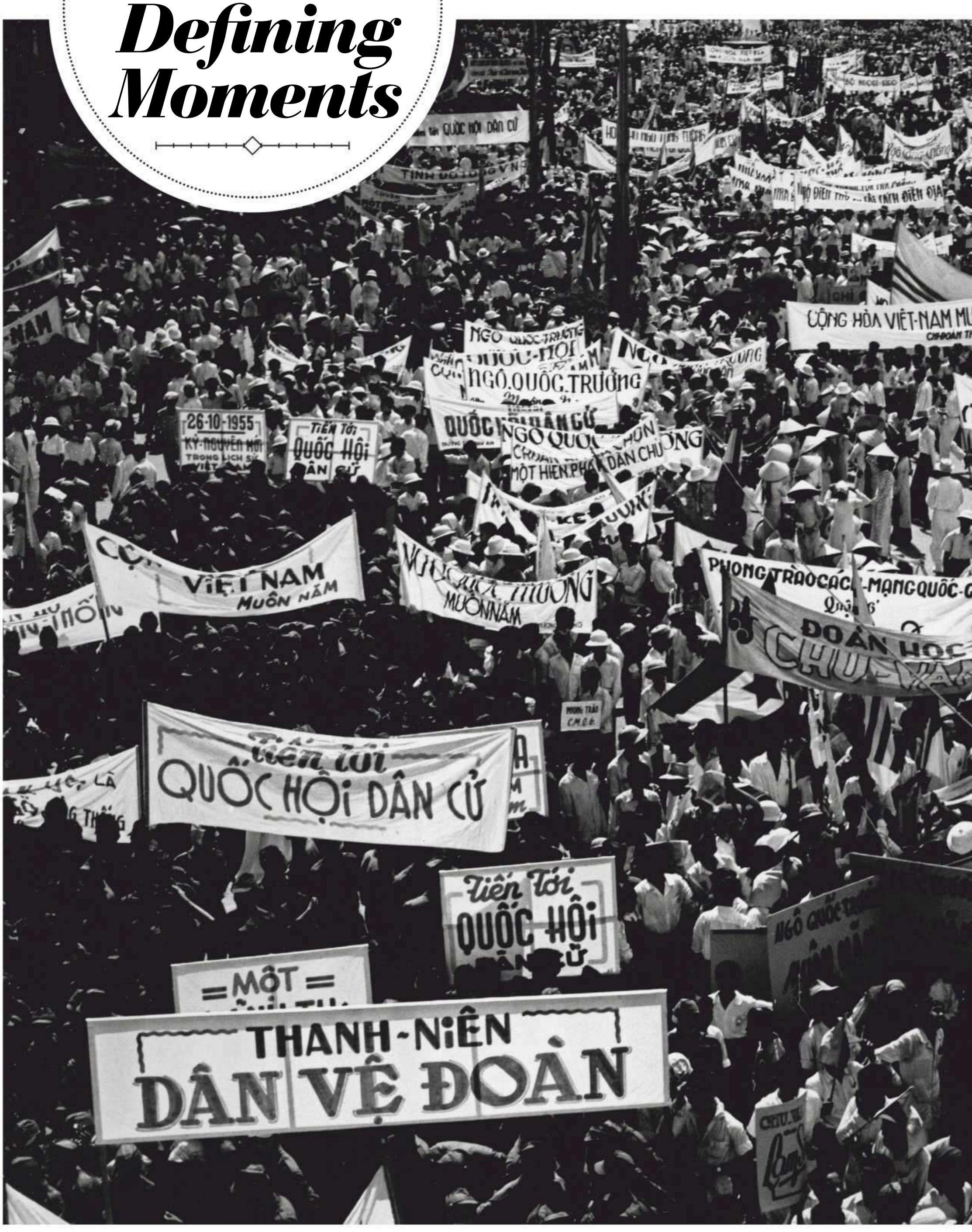
Defining Moments



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23-26 October 1955

THE STATE OF VIETNAM REFERENDUM

Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem called a national referendum to determine the future government of Vietnam. He defeated Bao Dai, the chief of state and former emperor, winning 98.2% of the vote amid claims of election rigging. On the 26th, three days after the referendum, Diem declared himself as the first president of the Republic of Vietnam.

11 October 1987

THE AIDS MEMORIAL QUILT

The NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt was displayed publicly for the first time on the National Mall in Washington, DC during the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The quilt was conceived by Cleve Jones, a San Francisco gay rights activist, as a memorial to those who had died from AIDS as well as to highlight the devastating impact of the disease on the nation.

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FUTURE

ALL ABOUT
THE MĀORI

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Inside a wharenui

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Legacy of the New Zealand Wars

Written by Jessica Leggett, Callum McKelvie, Jonathan Gordon

Maori History

Captain Cook arrives
1769

On 6 October 1769 Captain James Cook sights New Zealand from his ship. Two days later he lands and has an initial hostile encounter with Māori, killing many. Following this event, more peaceful contact occurs.

Did you know?
In 2019 the British government expressed its regret for Cook's first contact with the Māori

Image source: wiki/ National Maritime Museum

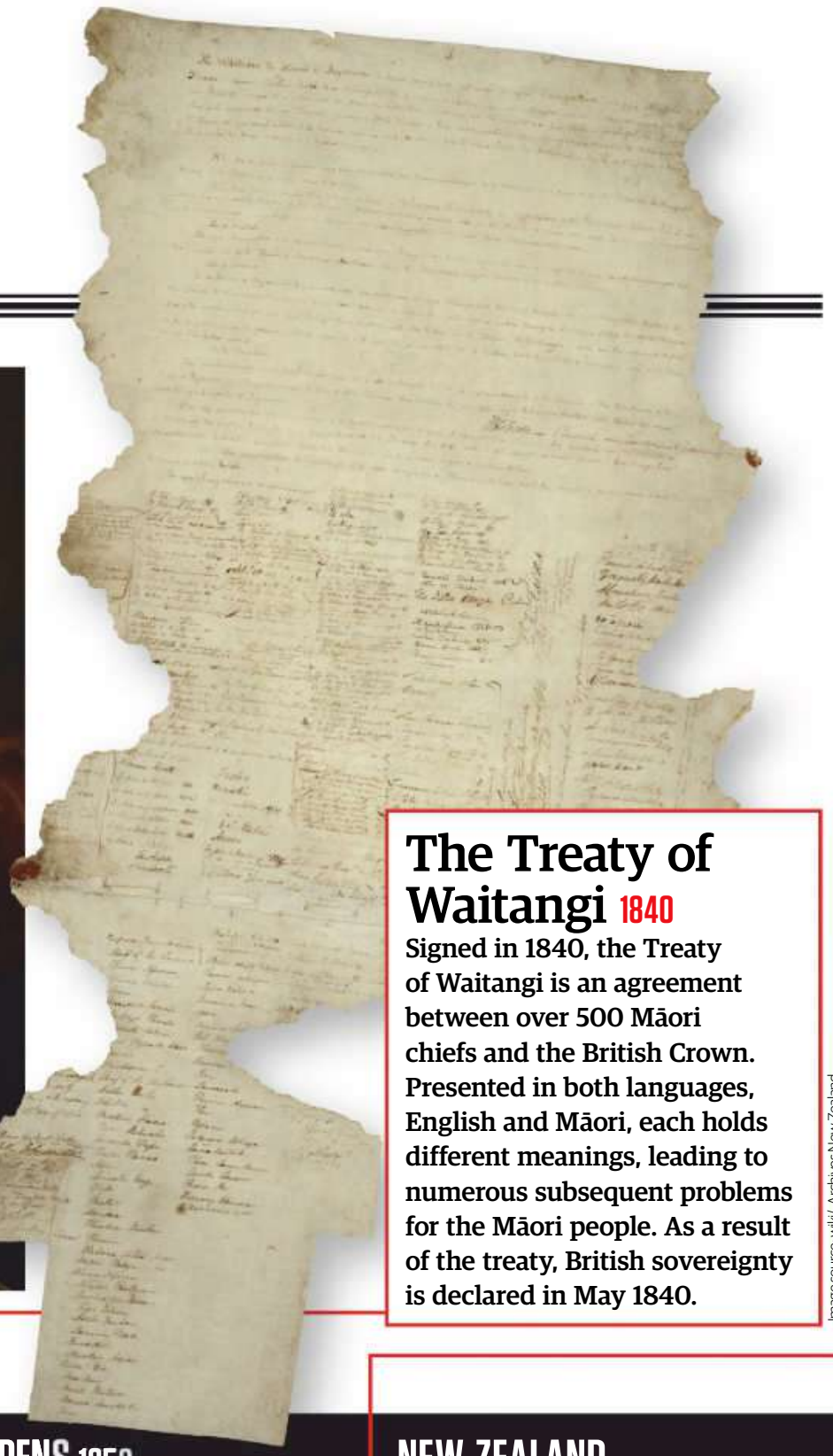


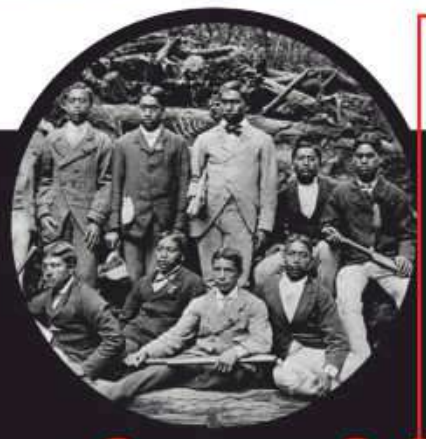
Image source: wiki/ Archives New Zealand

The Treaty of Waitangi 1840

Signed in 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi is an agreement between over 500 Māori chiefs and the British Crown. Presented in both languages, English and Māori, each holds different meanings, leading to numerous subsequent problems for the Māori people. As a result of the treaty, British sovereignty is declared in May 1840.

SETTLING 1500

Māori populations become more settled in specific areas as the abundance of resources dries up. As a result agriculture increases in importance.



TE AUTE COLLEGE OPENS 1853

Te Aute College is opened, initially as a government school, by missionary Samuel Williams. In later years the school develops a prestigious reputation and educates such distinguished individuals as Peter Buck.

Image source: wiki/ Teara: Encyclopedia of New Zealand

NEW ZEALAND SETTLEMENTS ACT 1863

The British Crown allows for all lands occupied by North Island tribes, "acting against the Empire," to be confiscated. A year later some 1.2 million acres are taken.

1500 — 1769 — 1816 — 1860

Image source: wiki/ Treaty2U.govt.nz

FIRST MĀORI SCHOOL 1816

The Reverend Thomas Kendall of the Church Missionary Society sets up the first school exclusively for Māori children. Previously he had published the first book in Māori.

FIRST MĀORI KING 1858

Pōtatau Te Wherowhero is crowned the first Māori king. In the 1850s a movement had begun seeking to protect Māori land and create laws to end in-fighting through a king. After seeking a chief of high standing for the role, Te Wherohero is selected and crowned.

Image source: wiki/ Alexander Turnbull Library

NATIVE RIGHTS ACT 1865

This act deems all Māori born in New Zealand to be natural subjects of the British Crown and Empire, increasing the British hold on the Māori.

Musket Wars 1818

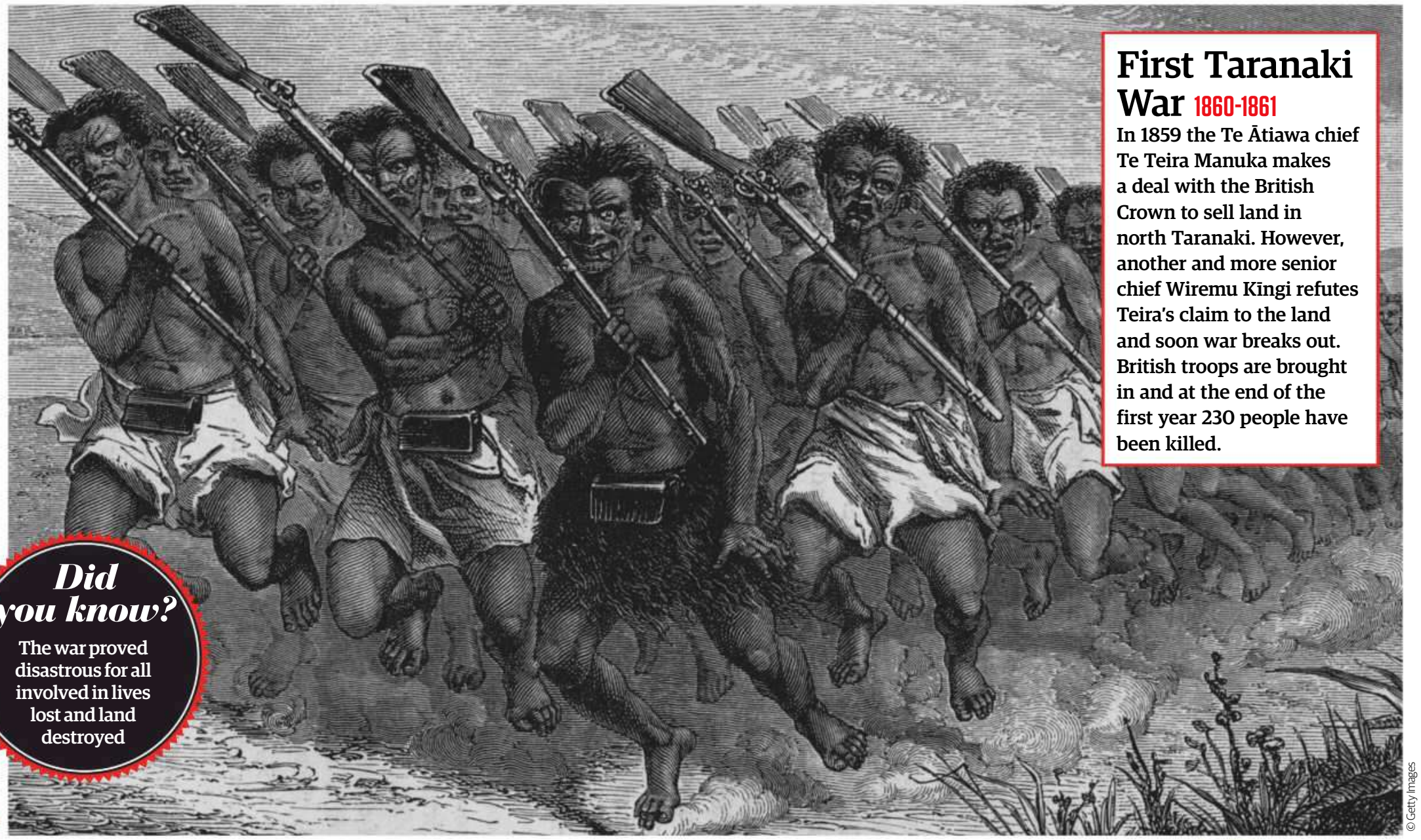
Inter-tribal warfare is altered dramatically by the introduction of muskets brought by European settlers. An estimated 20,000 people are killed in the resulting conflicts, significantly altering tribal boundaries. It is these new boundaries that would be used during the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Image source: wiki/ Auckland War Museum

Heke fells the flagstaff 1844

On the 8 July 1844, Māori chief Hōne Heke cuts down the British flagstaff for the first of what would be four times to show his displeasure at the British government. The final felling, occurring in March 1845, results in fighting between the colonial settlers and Heke.

Image source: wiki/ Alexander Turnbull Library



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First Taranaki War 1860-1861

In 1859 the Te Ātiawa chief Te Teira Manuka makes a deal with the British Crown to sell land in north Taranaki. However, another and more senior chief Wiremu Kīngi refutes Teira's claim to the land and soon war breaks out. British troops are brought in and at the end of the first year 230 people have been killed.

Did you know?

The war proved disastrous for all involved in lives lost and land destroyed

TREATY OF WAITANGI DECLARED 'WORTHLESS' 1877

Chief Justice James Prendergast declares the treaty "worthless." This declaration causes many issues for decades to come when attempting to get the terms of the treaty recognised and implemented.

Image source: wiki/ Department of Information Australia

MĀORI BATTALION 1940

A frontline infantry unit of Māori volunteers, the 28th Battalion, is set up within the New Zealand Expeditionary force to assist the British during World War II.

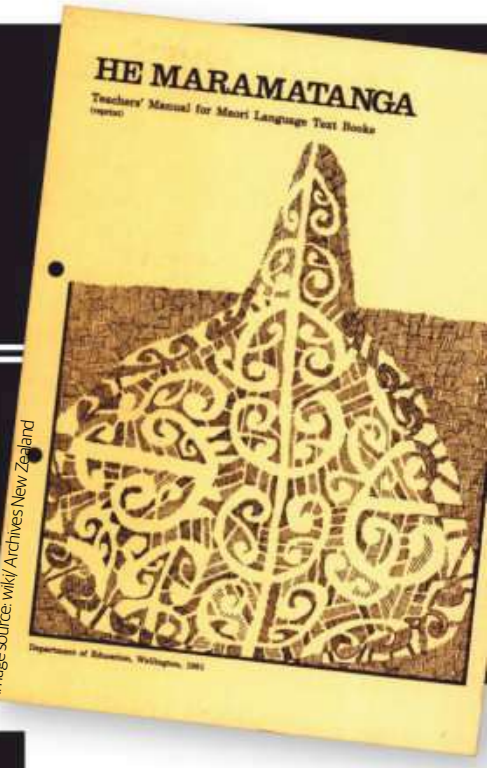


Image source: wiki/ Archives New Zealand

1892 1914 1975

PARIHAKA PLOUGHING CAMPAIGN 1879

Under instruction from Māori chiefs Te Whiti and Tohu, land confiscated from the Māori and taken by European settlers is systematically ploughed up.

KOTAHITANGA PARLIAMENT MEETS FOR THE FIRST TIME 1892

The Kotahitanga movement, which aims to unify Māori on non-tribal grounds, forms a parliament aiming for legal validation from the New Zealand parliament and the retention of Māori lands.

Image source: wiki/ Alexander Turnbull Library

MĀORI LANGUAGE ACT 1987

This act allows the Māori language to become officially recognised and gives speakers the right to use it in legal proceedings and documentation.

Māori in WWI 1914-1918

Some 2,000 Māori fight alongside the British during World War I. Initially this is primarily volunteer-based, but conscription is introduced in 1917, causing considerable friction between Māori and the British Crown.

Image source: wiki/ Archives New Zealand

Did you know?

2,200 Māori joined the Pioneer Battalion with other Pacific Islanders

Image source: wiki/ Archives New Zealand

Māori Land March 1975

Five-thousand Māori march on New Zealand's parliament to present a petition signed by some 60,000 individuals protesting against the continued loss of Māori lands.

INSIDE HISTORY

A WHARENUI

NEW ZEALAND, 19TH CENTURY

The role of the marae in Māori life remains as important today as it has done for centuries. These communal spaces are sacred and central to ideas of community cohesion and respect for one another. At the heart of the marae is the wharenui, the meeting house, sometimes also called a whare tipuna, which means ancestral house or whare rūnanga, which means communal meeting house. It is inside this building and at its threshold that all of the most important gatherings take place.

Just outside the wharenui is a public meeting area where many of the most important outdoor ceremonies take place. For example, the pōwhiri, which is a Māori welcoming ceremony that involves speeches, dancing, singing and the traditional Māori nose-to-nose greeting of the hongi, would take place here. This area is thought to be the domain of the Māori deity of man and war, Tūmatauenga, and so the original intention of this ceremony of welcoming was to test the intentions of the visitors and decide if they were really friend or foe.

However, once stepping inside the wharenui we enter the realm of Rongo-mā-Tāne, the deity of peace, balance and cultivated foods. This is a space where discussion, debate, deliberation, celebration and grief can all be expressed without judgement or recrimination, so long as people remain respectful and non-threatening. As a hall it can be used to welcome visitors, host weddings or funerals, or any number of social functions.

The other reason why the wharenui is a sacred and special place is that the building is meant to be the embodiment of a family ancestor and is often named after the person it is channelling. One example of the reverence that is common as a mark of respect for this fact is that shoes are typically removed before entering a wharenui.

© Getty Images

A tekoteko represents an ancestor

Embodying an ancestor

All of the elements of a wharenui are there to represent an ancestor in one fashion or another, from the roof to the ground. This all starts at the front of the meeting hall with the tekoteko, which is a figure of an ancestor that sits at the peak of the roof at the front of the building and/or a koruru, which is a carved face that might sit alone or just below a tekoteko.

Ancestral support

A wharenui might be named after a single ancestor and stepping inside may be entering the body of that figure, but a wharenui actually features multiple ancestral representations. Chief among them are carved posts that sit at the front of the building, attaching to the roof as it meets the side walls. These are the amo and are the legs of the body. These ancestors are likely to have had a role in building the meeting hall.

Pride of place

One of the most important locations of the wharenui for a carving, considered a place of great honour, is the lintel above the door, called the pare. The reason this is considered important is that the doorway represents the transition point between realms, from the domain of one god into the home of another.

Some backbone

The spine of the wharenui, the central beam that runs through the middle of the roof, is called the tāhuhu. Sometimes the inside of this beam or ridgepole will be carved to show the shape of a body where the roof overhangs the porch at the front of the building. The rafters, or heke, are like the ribs of the body.

Carvings

All around the inside of the hall you'll see incredible carvings of figures lining the walls and on posts. These are the whakairo and they are intended to tell you something about the character of the person to whom this building has been dedicated, perhaps even depicting stories from their life.

Paintings and textiles

As well as all of the detailed wood carving you'll also find more textile and paint-based art on the walls of a wharenui. The weaving techniques of the Māori are all based around the use of straight lines, creating distinctive triangular patterns. Tāniko is the fabric-based style that creates a stiff final product, while the use of reeds is called tukutuku.

The beating heart

Through the centre of the hall, coming down from the ridgepole, are the pou tokomanawa. These elaborately carved figures are the heart of the hall and symbolically connect the earth and the sky. The figure carved into these posts is often another ancestor who was involved in the building of the wharenui.

Left and right

So much of what happens in the marae is dictated by long traditions and customs, and one of the most important in wharenui is how people should be placed within it. The left and right sides of the building as you enter it are called the tara iti and tara nui respectively. Hosts are meant to occupy the left and guests the right.

Code of conduct

There are lots of other important rules to observe inside a wharenui. One of note is that it's considered completely inappropriate to step over another person, say while they are sleeping, in the building. Nor are you supposed to sit on pillows or stand on mattresses.

A warm welcome

Building on the analogy that the wharenui structure represents a human body, the maihi boards that run along the left and right of the roof, sloping down to the walls of the hall, represent the arms of the ancestor. They are outstretched to welcome visitors and often have hand-like shapes at the end to make the inference that much clearer.

Illustration by: Adrian Mann

THE *Anatomy of*

A MĀORI CHIEF

NEW ZEALAND, 19TH CENTURY

HUIA FEATHERS

The huia was a waterbird native to New Zealand and highly prized by Māori for its feathers. Unfortunately this popularity led to the huia's extinction because the feathers also became popular around the world. The huia's 12 tail feathers were black, but tipped prominently with white and would be worn in the hair singularly or sometimes as a bunch.

TĀ MOKO

The famous tattoo style of the Māori was developed from a wider tradition that exists across the islands of the Pacific, but in Aotearoa (what the Māori call New Zealand) it found a distinct look. The tā moko are not necessarily face tattoos, as they can also be on the body, but what makes them unique is the method of scarring the skin with a chisel called a uhi to create ridges that are then also coloured, traditionally with charcoal and oil/plant juices.

HEI TIKI PENDANT

The origins of the hei tiki are unfortunately lost to us, but they seem to run deep into Māori history. What the hei tiki represents is disputed, but it could be Tiki, the first man created by the god Tāne in Māori mythology. Others have posited that it represents Hineteiwaiwa, the spirit guardian of childbirth and looks like an embryo as a result. Either way, hei tiki were highly valued and often buried with their wearer. If they were to be passed on, a ritualistic cleansing needed to be performed on the pendant first.

A TAIAHA

The ceremonial staff of the Māori chief was also a weapon, although perhaps not used in the manner you might think. Carved from wood or whalebone, one end would have two faces carved into it, the dual sets of eyes denoting the alert nature of its bearer. The tip of the staff is the tongue of this head, looking somewhat like a spearhead. However, it's the flattened opposite end of the staff that was used for striking opponents. The art of Māori stick fighting is still taught today.

A PĀKĒ

The rain cloaks worn by the Māori are one of their more ingeniously designed pieces of clothing and are also very versatile. Hundreds of leaf strips would be attached to a ring of woven fibres, and when catching the rain then directed it away from the body. When Western observers saw these rain cloaks they noted how much like roof thatching they were and that the Māori would also use them as temporary shelters.

CLOAKS

The materials from which a cloak was made would distinguish social standing among the Māori, with fine furs and skins or feathers being particularly prized. However, from the early 1800s the tag cloak became increasingly popular. This cloak, known as a korowai, was decorated with hukahuka, long cords rolled from the fibre of flax plants or with pokinikini, a cylindrical form of a dried evergreen plant called a harakeke.

BARE FEET

Visit New Zealand today and you might be a little surprised to see so many people walking around barefoot, regardless of the location and sometimes even the weather. This is a little piece of cultural heritage picked up from the Māori, who rarely wore sandals or leg coverings. They believed in being close to mother earth, known as Papatūānuku. This practice has also been adopted by many modern mindfulness practitioners.

Illustration by: Kévin McGivern

Historical Treasures

PAPA HOU

KEEPING VALUABLE TREASURES SAFE AND SOUND, NEW ZEALAND, 18TH CENTURY

Commonly referred to as Māori treasure boxes, papa hou were used to store precious personal ornaments known as taonga, which means 'treasured possessions' in Māori. This included items such as combs, jewellery and feathers for the hair – in fact, in Māori the word 'papa' means chest or box and 'hou' means feather.

These wooden treasure boxes were considered to have the mana (spiritual power) of their owners because they contained prized items that came into contact with the body. For example, feathers were considered highly tapu (sacred) amongst the Māori because they were worn in the hair and thereby came into contact with the head, which was considered the most sacred part of the body.

To keep the papa hou and their contents safe, they were hung on cords from the rafters of the house. However, the majority of these treasure boxes were also decorated with elaborate carvings on their underside and by hanging them up in this way these designs could be admired from below, although some papa hou have been found with plain bases.

Whakairo (wood carving) is a traditional Māori art and the designs used on the papa hou were often inspired by the natural environment, telling a story through ornate symbolism. Expert woodcarvers, known as tohunga whakairo, were considered to be tapu because of their knowledge of the craft as well as their work.

The carvings on the treasure boxes and the important objects that they contained meant that papa hou were highly valued themselves as taonga. Given their own names and histories, these boxes became cherished family and tribal heirlooms and they were frequently offered as gifts to celebrate social events, friendships and relationships with other tribes. As a result, it is not unusual to find a papa hou belonging to one tribe with the carving style of another.

Interestingly, there are actually two different styles of Māori treasure boxes. While papa hou are shallow, rectangular or oblong in shape with a flat base, waka huia boxes are deeper and usually oval-shaped. There are also geographical differences between the two, as papa hou are often found in the northern regions of the North Island, whereas waka huia can be found in most tribal regions.

REPRESENTING LINEAGE
The handle of the papa hou is formed out of three reclining tiki. Two of these tiki figures are depicted in the midst of procreation, which possibly symbolises the continuity of the mana of the ancestors through their living descendants.

MYTHICAL FIGURE
According to Māori mythology, Tiki is the first man to have been created. Tiki figures are the primary motif used in Māori arts, however, tiki is also used to describe the carved figures found in other areas of Polynesia.

INTRICATE DESIGN
The carved pattern on this papa hou features human figures, that most likely represent tupuna, the Māori word for ancestors. The eyes of the tiki figures here have also been inlaid with iridescent shell, which has a mesmerising quality.

LOCATION DETAILS
This papa hou is currently on display at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It was originally found in the Bay of Plenty region, an area named by Captain James Cook in 1769 for the abundance of Māori supplies as well as their generosity.

Image source: Met Museum

Hall of Fame

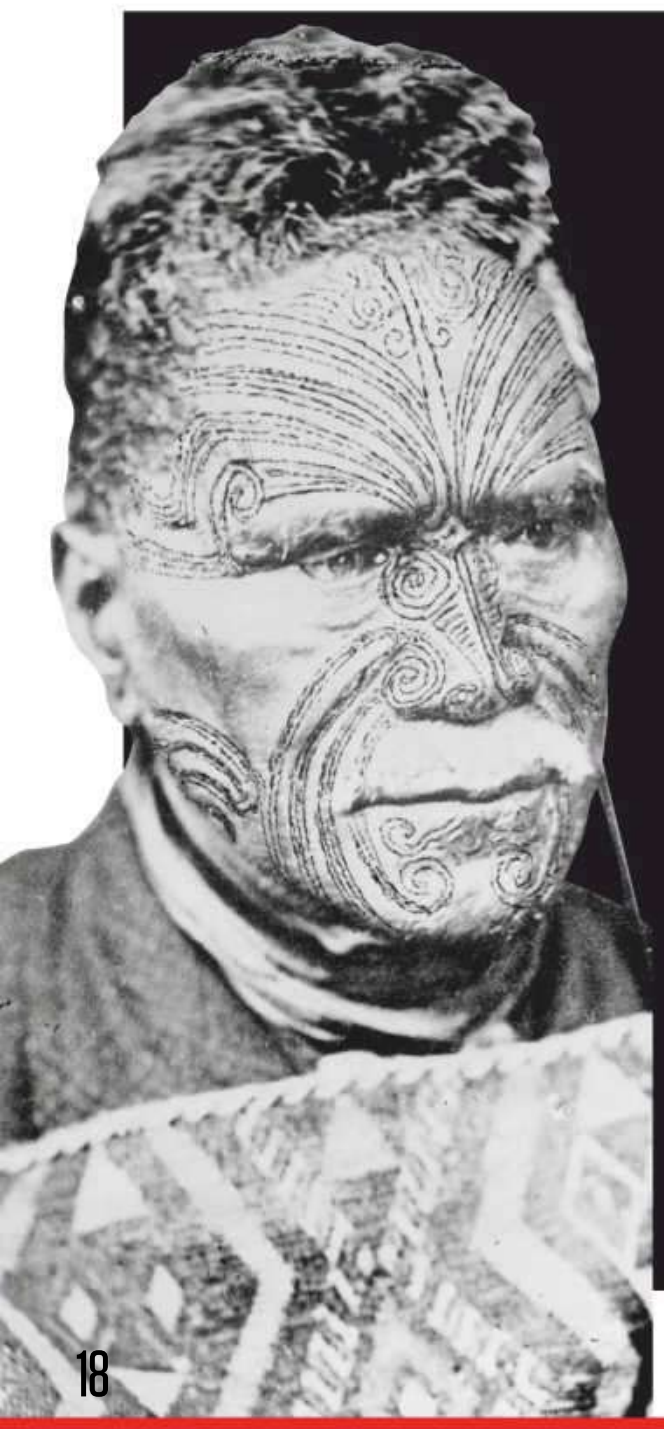
GREAT MĀORI LEADERS

Some of the Māori men and women who acted as great leaders both in war and in peace

TE RANGI HIROA (PETER BUCK) C.1877-1951

Descended from both Māori and Pākehā ancestry, Peter Buck was a well-respected doctor who saw a chance to do good for his people. Appointed the medical officer to the Māori in 1905, he soon moved into politics and spoke openly defending Māori rights. At the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 he worked to gain a contingent of Māori volunteers and went with them as medical officer. Following the war, he became increasingly interested in anthropology and was well-known on the lecture circuit.

Image source: wiki/ Alexander Turnbull Library



TĀWHIAO C.1860-C.1894

The second Māori king, the reign of Tāwhiao would last some 34 years and would be marked by an increasing settler population seeking more land. Becoming essentially landless, Tāwhiao wandered with his people and gained a reputation as a wise individual with many followers – one whose sayings are still repeated. He led a deputation to England in an attempt to have the Treaty of Waitangi honoured, but when this failed he would later attempt more direct solutions, such as creating a day known as 'Poukai' when the less fortunate were fed and entertained.

Image source: wiki/ Library of Congress

WHINA COOPER 1895-1994

Inspired by her father's role as a community leader, Whina Cooper showed a similar flare for public service. Loaned the money to buy both her parents' home and community store, Cooper soon grew the business, importing goods from the UK and adding a post office. Other branches were opened and also a clinic and community centre where women who could not talk in marae would be allowed to speak. Cooper became such a force that she was a key voice in Sir Āpirana Ngata's land development schemes and later, and most famously, led the Māori Land March to combat further alienation.

Image source: wiki/ Christian Heinegg

Activist Whina Cooper was 80 years old when she led the Māori Land March in 1975

Image source: wiki/ Lindaur Online

ERUERA MAIHI PATUONE C.1764-1872

As a child, Patuone's father saw Captain Cook's vessel and exchanged gifts with the explorer. Patuone himself would distinguish himself as a great warrior, famously killing Tātakahuanui in the Battle of Waituna with a greenstone axe in hand-to-hand combat. Later, he became a noted leader among his people and was interested in the advantages to be gained from trading with European settlers. He experimented with growing wheat and coveted relationships with missionaries coming to the area.

ĀPIRANA NGATA 1874-1950

A close friend of Peter Buck, Āpirana Ngata was a skilled politician who used this talent to improve conditions for the Māori, and was also the first of his people to complete a degree at a New Zealand university. Initially he worked to improve local affairs, particularly through initiatives such as the Waiapu Farmers' Cooperative company. As he moved into national issues, he helped draft acts such as the Māori Councils Act, allowing elected councils to undertake local functions. However, his biggest achievements were to come later with a number of land development schemes as native minister. These schemes helped improve farming and encouraged, against opposition, a greater preservation of Māori culture.

Image source: wiki/ Alexander Turnbull Library

Atairangikaahu's crowning as Māori queen in 1966 broke a long tradition of male succession

TE ATAIRANGIKAAHU 1931-2006

The first Māori queen, Te Atairangikaahu was also the longest reigning of all Māori monarchs and served for over 40 years. Following the death of her father, King Korokī on 18 May 1966, Princess Piki was elected to succeed him and upon accepting the throne took the name of her mother ,becoming Te Atairangikaahu. Atairangikaahu was known for her ability to move at ease among different communities and events, from rugby matches to ceremonial dinners. A key event during her reign was the Waikato Raupatu settlement, which aimed to compensate those who had lost land during the 1860s.

© Alamy

Image source: wiki/ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

TE RAUPARAHA C.1760-1849

Known to be a relatively short man, Te Rauparaha had great muscular strength and was renowned as a fierce warrior. He was given the name Rauparaha because when he was born a Waikato warrior who had killed and eaten a relation stated he would do the same with the child and roast him with Rauparaha leaves. As he grew older he became a leading figure in the Musket Wars and with his tribe forged new conquests.

HŌNE HEKE C.1807-1850

A defiant leader, Heke was a fierce opponent of the British government that was subjugating his people. In protest against colonial rule, he ordered the cutting down of the flagpole flying the British flag at the Kororāreka settlement on four occasions. Soon fighting broke out but Heke was keen that violence should not be enacted against settlers, only the government and soldiers. When he became ill, he continued his fight with the pen as his sword, writing numerous letters demanding change.

Heke cut down the flagstaff four times and the resultant fighting was known as the Flagstaff War

Image source: wiki/ Alexander Turnbull Library

IRIAKA RATANA 1905-1981

As a young girl Iriaka began to work with Tahupotiki-Wiremu Ratana, the leader of the influential religious and political movement that takes his name. She became a second wife and would then marry his younger son, Maitu. However, following a serious car accident she chose to step into his shoes as a candidate for the political movement and was endorsed by the Labour party. Becoming the first female Māori MP, she served in the house for 20 years and did much to increase social welfare.

Image source: wiki/ National Library of New Zealand

RANGI TOPEORA C. 1800-UNKNOWN

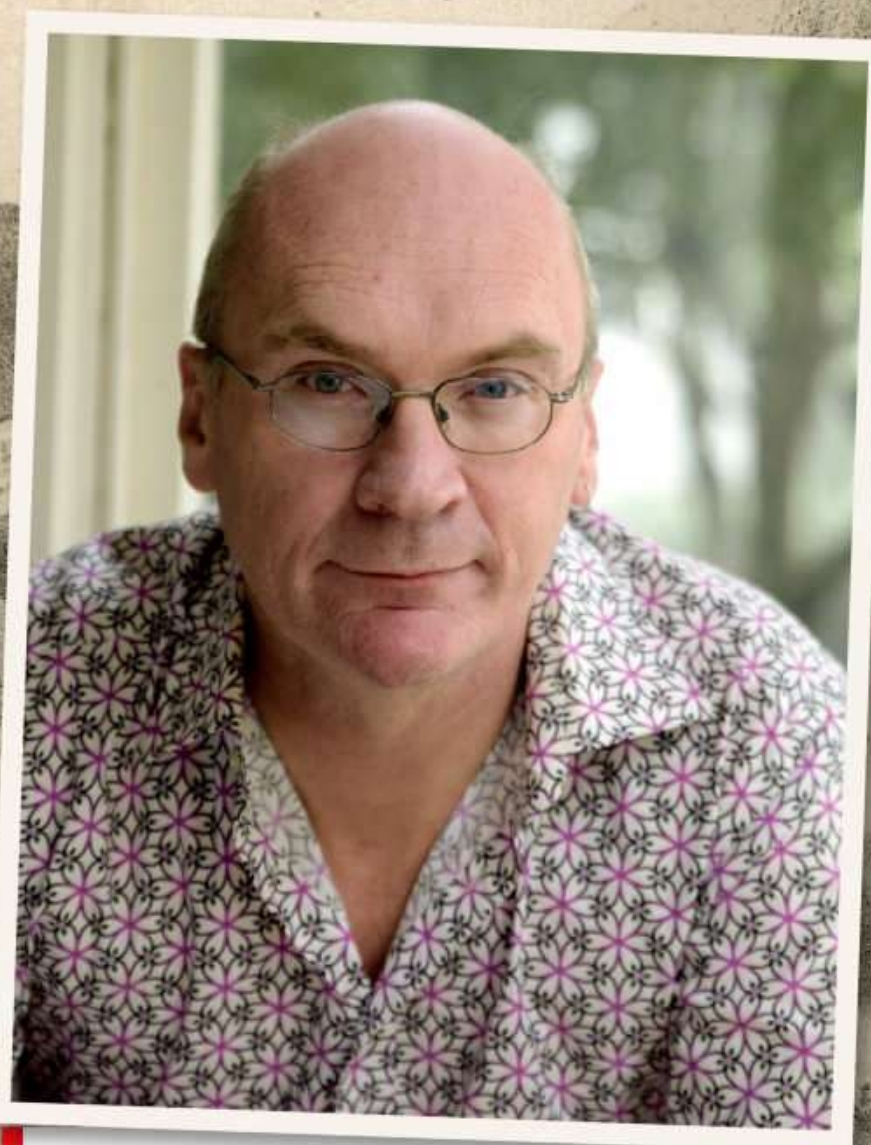
Rangi Topeora was born into a powerful family whose members included her brother Te Ranghiaeata, who fought against European oppression. Early in life, she was a famous composer of waiata (a popular traditional form of Māori music) but soon became an important leader. One of only five women to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, she had considerable control of property and land and was involved in numerous negotiations. Topeora rejected European clothing throughout her life, preferring to wear traditional Māori attire.

Image source: wiki/ Lindauer Online

Q&A With...

DR VINCENT O'MALLEY

DISCUSSING THE HORRIFIC LEGACY OF THE ANGLO-MĀORI WARS



Dr Vincent O'Malley is a historian who has authored numerous books on New Zealand history, including *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000* (Bridget Williams Books, 2016.) He is also a founding partner of HistoryWorks, a group of historians specialising in Treaty of Waitangi research. To find out more about his work, go to bwb.co.nz/authors/vincent-omalley.

© Myron McGregor

Q. CAN YOU EXPLAIN FOR OUR READERS WHAT THE NEW ZEALAND WARS WERE?

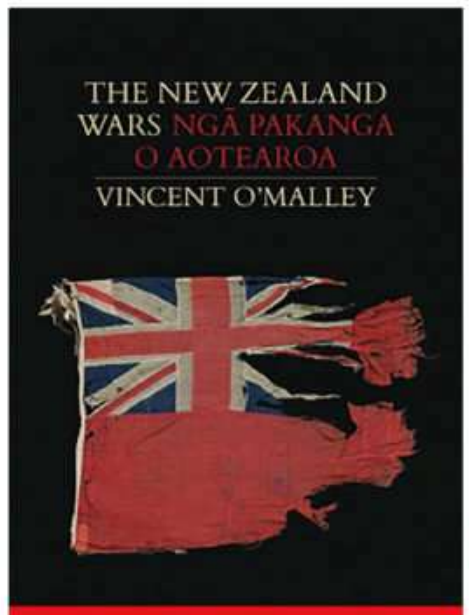
A. The New Zealand Wars were a series of conflicts fought between the British Crown and various groups of Māori between 1845 and 1872 over much of the North Island. At one time they were known as the 'Māori Wars' following the British tendency to name wars after their enemies, and sometimes they are still called the 'Land Wars'. They left about 6,000 people killed or wounded, over two-thirds of them Māori, and they brought more than 18,000 British troops to New Zealand (who received support from the Royal Navy, some Māori allies, and settler military units). In my view, these were defining events in New Zealand history, and in many ways were much more transformative than either world war in terms of shaping New Zealand today.

Q. HOW DID THE MĀORI VIEW THE TREATY OF WAITANGI DIFFER TO THAT OF THE BRITISH CROWN?

A. More than 500 rangatira (chiefs) had signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. But nearly all of them signed a version in their own language and that stopped a long way short of ceding sovereignty to the Crown, while at the same time promising them 'tino rangatiratanga' (full chiefly authority) over their own lands and affairs. This tension between Crown assertions of sovereignty and Māori expectations of continuing rights to manage their own affairs was a major factor in the New Zealand Wars. At heart, they revolved around whose version would prevail. By 1872 it was clear that the Crown had the upper hand. For the next century or more Māori expectations of partnership and dialogue were ignored. And that only really began to change from the 1970s onwards.

Q. WHAT WAS THE PURPOSE OF THE NEW ZEALAND SETTLEMENTS ACT OF 1863?

A. The New Zealand Settlements Act was the main legislative mechanism by which over three million acres of Māori lands were confiscated – supposedly to punish acts of 'rebellion' while also recouping the costs involving in fighting the wars. The plan, which had deep roots in British imperial practice, involved seizing the lands of Māori who offered resistance, allocating some to military settlers in return for their services, while selling the surplus on the open market at profit. In this way, Māori would effectively underwrite the costs of their own suppression. As it turned out, few people wanted to live in the middle of active war zones, so instead of making a profit the colony was actually plunged deep into debt. And the policy was applied indiscriminately, even taking in areas owned by Māori who had fought on the government side, prolonging and intensifying resistance.



***The New Zealand Wars / Ngā Pakanga O Aotearoa* is out now from Bridget Williams Books**

Q. WHAT WERE THE BIGGEST CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEW ZEALAND WARS?

A. For Māori, the consequences were shattering. In some areas, as many as one in five Māori were killed as a direct result of the wars. Prior to the main sequence of wars between 1860 and 1872, Māori communities in many ways dominated the New Zealand economy, contributing a large chunk of the colony's export income and feeding settlers in towns like Auckland and Wellington. In many places that relative prosperity came to a sudden and crushing end. And settler governments took advantage of their newly dominant position from the mid-1860s to push through new laws prising even more lands from their owners and promoting assimilationist policies such as the native schools system that enforced learning in English only. The rough and ready balance of power between Māori and the settlers that had survived since before the Treaty was signed finally came to an end. Māori communities around the country were left with deeply entrenched grievances, which as a nation we are still attempting to resolve today.

Q. WHAT IS THE LEGACY OF THE NEW ZEALAND WARS TODAY?

A. In many ways, this history continues to reverberate in the present. For one thing, any discussion of contemporary Māori poverty that fails to acknowledge the long history of invasion, dispossession and exile misses a vital part of the story. That was something that had profound and lasting inter-generational consequences, and some people would argue that can also be seen in the extraordinarily high rates of Māori incarceration and suicide today. The wars also helped to seal Auckland's future and are a big part of the reason why it is now our largest city, and why the North Island came to dominate the South Island when for much of the 19th century the reverse was true. In many ways, the New Zealand Wars helped shape what the nation was and what it would become.

2x © Getty Images

The long duration of the wars saw fortunes change drastically

Q. WHY IS IT IMPORTANT FOR PEOPLE, BOTH IN NEW ZEALAND AND AROUND THE WORLD, TO BE AWARE OF THE NEW ZEALAND WARS?

A. A mature nation takes ownership of its history. Moving confidently into the future requires a robust understanding of our past. So for New Zealanders, being upfront and honest about this difficult history is partly about growing up as a nation. And that is vital to any process of genuine reconciliation and healing. But there is also an incredibly rich history to engage with – the scale of Māori military achievement alone is remarkable considering the forces lined up against them. For decades the colony was effectively under military occupation. And many of the British troops never left – some ended up marrying Māori women from the very same tribes they were fighting against. These were also the first overseas wars in which Australian troops fought. So the New Zealand Wars are an important slice of military history. But they are also much bigger than that: they are a vitally important part of the broader New Zealand story.

Places to Explore

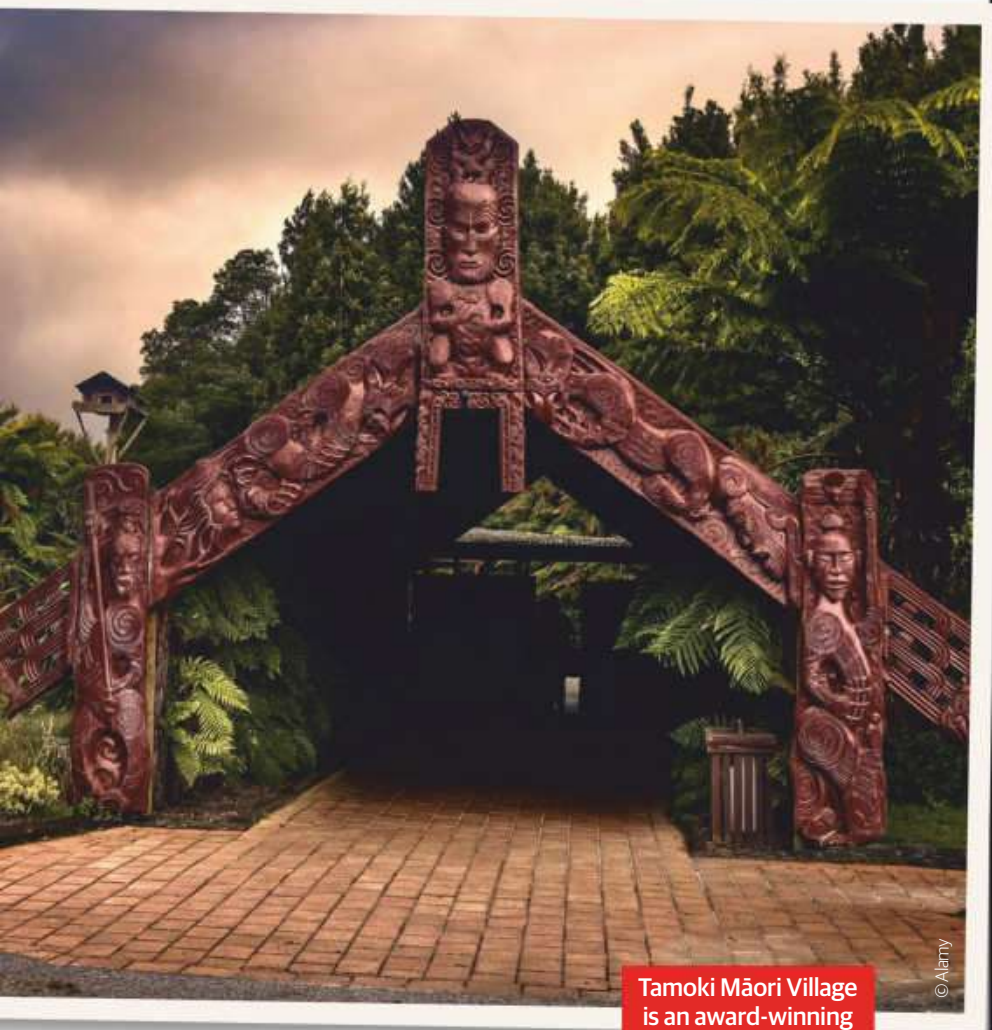
MĀORI MARVELS

Immerse yourself in New Zealand's indigenous culture

1 TAMAKI MĀORI VILLAGE
ROTORUA

Tamaki Māori Village was founded in 1989 and is located deep within an ancient Tawa forest in Rotorua. Here, visitors can take part in an evening experience that explores the Māori way of life. The experience lasts for three-and-a-half hours and visitors will witness ceremonial rituals and traditions, performances and storytelling. Tamaki also has many opportunities for fun, interactive learning including the chance to learn the haka, weaving, carving, tattooing and poi – a performance art. Visitors can also talk to members of the village and learn about their ancestry first-hand. On top of this, the experience includes a traditional hāngī feast accompanied by entertainment. Upon arrival, guests will be met by a guide who will host them throughout the visit. Voted as one of the world's top 10 tourist experiences and named New Zealand's 'Most Cultural Experience', Tamaki is the perfect place to learn about the history and culture of the Māori.

Open daily. Average adult ticket is NZ$130. tamakimaorivillage.co.nz



Tamoki Māori Village is an award-winning cultural experience

© Alamy

2 WHAKAREWAREWA VILLAGE
ROTORUA

Visitors can experience the day-to-day lives of the villagers

Whakarewarewa, the Living Māori Village, is home to the Tūhourangi Ngāti Wāhiao people, who can trace their ancestry back to the Te Arawa people, who first occupied the Te Whakarewarewa Valley in 1325. It's owned and operated by local residents, offering a look into the day-to-day lives of those in the village. Visitors can join a guided tour with a local guide to learn about the history of the village as well as watch cultural performances that pay tribute to their traditional performance arts. There is even a traditional cooking demonstration, where residents prepare their hāngī meals using steam boxes buried in the ground. Beyond the village, visitors can explore the geothermal landscape with nature walks around stunning lakes, boiling mud pools and through native New Zealand bush. For those who are interested, there is also an earth science facility which researches the geothermal activity of the area, an important natural resource for the Māori community who live there.

Open Sat-Tues, 10am-2pm. whakarewarewa.com

The museum's full name translates to 'container of treasures'

Waitangi Treaty Grounds is a great place for a family day out

3 MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE PAPA TONGAREWA WELLINGTON

New Zealand's national museum, Te Papa Tongawera, is home to a variety of Māori treasures. There are numerous exhibitions, both temporary and long-standing, for visitors to explore and learn about Māori culture. The Mana Whenua exhibition features contemporary and ancient artworks, oral histories and taonga, plus notable artefacts like a 19th-century waka taua (war canoe). A must-see at the museum is the huge marae including a wharenui, a traditional Maori meeting house decorated with carved ancestral images. Although the original Treaty of Waitangi (1840) is housed at the National Library, Te Papa Tongawera's exhibition, Treaty of Waitangi: Signs Of A Nation, explores the relationships between the peoples of Aotearoa (Māori for New Zealand). In this exhibition, visitors will also find many treasures that belonged to four influential Māori chiefs who signed the treaty. For those who don't want to miss a thing, the museum offers a Māori Highlights Tour – a guided tour that combines exhibits with stories and insights about Māori culture, art and history. With many visual and interactive displays, it is the perfect place for a family day out. The museum is also an ideal place to visit for anyone interested in Māori history and especially those who are unfamiliar with the indigenous culture.

Open daily, 10am-6pm. Free entry. tepapa.govt.nz

Te Puia is a top attraction in New Zealand

4 TE PUIA ROTORUA

Located in the Te Whakarewarewa Valley and just five minutes away from central Rotorua, Te Puia is an incredible site famous for its geothermal activity, with boiling mud pools and hot springs. Visitors can also see the spectacular Pōhutu geyser, the largest active geyser in the southern hemisphere. Te Puia is also the home of the New Zealand Māori Arts And Crafts Institute, a non-profit organisation that was founded in the 1920s to promote Māori culture. The site houses the national schools of carving, weaving and other arts, where visitors can watch and interact with the students who practice these traditional Māori crafts under the guidance of masters. For those who are interested, you can even book to have your own Māori tattoo at the Tā Moko Studio! Also based at Te Puia is the Kiwi Conservation Centre, where visitors can see a live kiwi, an endangered species and New Zealand's national icon, up close and learn about the ongoing efforts to protect the birds.

Open Thurs-Sun, 10am-4pm. Average adult ticket is NZ$60. tepuia.com

5 WAITANGI TREATY GROUNDS WAITANGI

Waitangi Treaty Grounds is New Zealand's most important historic site, where New Zealand's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, was signed between the Māori and the British Crown in 1840. There's plenty for visitors to explore across the grounds, for example, guided tours, historical presentations, the Ngātokimatawhaorua – the world's largest ceremonial war canoe (waka taua) – as well as cultural performances inside the carved Māori Meeting House (Te Whare Rūnanga), including stick games, the haka and singing. Visitors can also see the Treaty House and the Flagstaff, which marks the exact spot where the treaty was signed, plus there's also an art gallery and a Māori Carving Studio, where live demonstrations are held. The Waitangi Treaty Grounds also house the Te Rau Aroha museum, which commemorates the commitment, service and sacrifice of the Māori in the New Zealand armed forces, and the Te Kōngahu Museum of Waitangi, which brings to life the history of Waitangi and the treaty, with numerous interactive exhibits and significant taonga on display. During the summer months, concerts and hāngī evenings are scheduled for those who want an even deeper cultural experience. A popular and award-winning site with incredible views over the Bay of Islands, the Waitangi Treaty Grounds is a must-see destination for anyone who wants to learn about the fascinating history and culture of the Māori.

Open daily, 9am-5pm. Average adult ticket is NZ$50 for international visitors and NZ$25 for New Zealand residents. waitangi.org.nz

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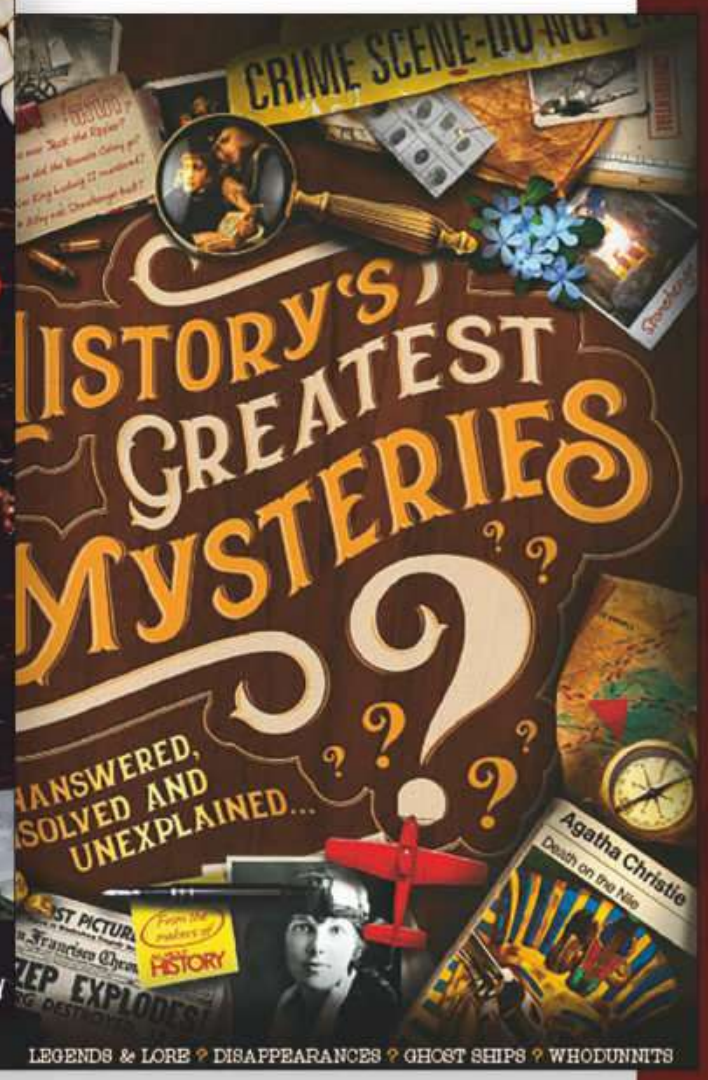
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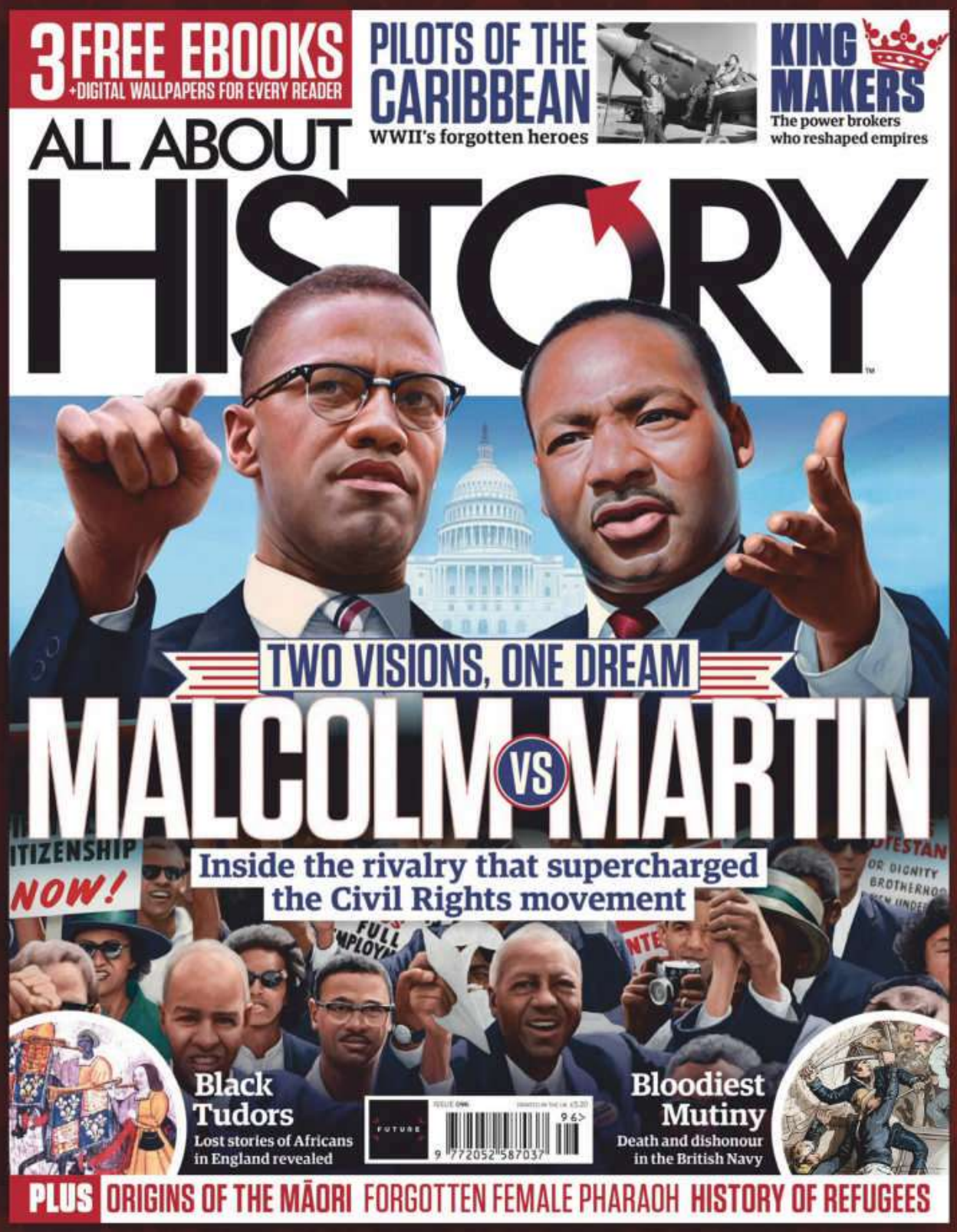
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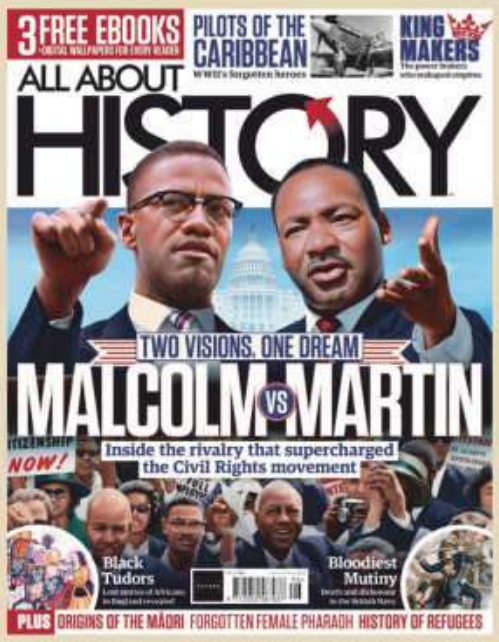
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MALCOLM

MARTIN VS

Inside the rivalry that supercharged the Civil Rights movement

Written by Jonathan Gordon

EXPERT BIO

© Getty Images

Dr Peniel E Joseph is an American scholar, teacher and public speaker with a focus on race issues. He holds a joint professorship at the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the History Department in the College of Liberal Arts at The University of Texas at Austin. His book, *The Sword And The Shield: The Revolutionary Lives Of Malcolm X And Martin Luther King Jr,* was released in March 2020

All illustrations by: Kevin McGivern

They didn't hold high public office, they didn't fight wars and they didn't possess vast wealth and riches, and yet Dr Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X still managed to become two of the most iconic figures of the 20th century. Rising to prominence at the height of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, each became equally revered and reviled by different parts of the United States. Both would ultimately come to be the de facto leader of their groups and each would meet an untimely and violent end at the hands of assailants whose identities and motives continue to be hotly debated.

In Dr King's role as first president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Malcolm X's position as a minister and leading national spokesperson for the Nation of Islam (NOI), these two men often appeared to offer two conflicting arguments and approaches to the challenge of achieving racial justice and equality in America. What's more, each existed in the public eye to a far greater and wider extent than any of their contemporaries fighting for African American rights and representation, and as a result each has developed their own legend. What we hope to do as we explore the lives of these two men is to find what linked them more than divided them and bring back some of the humanity of the men behind the myths. To that end we could think of no one better to guide us through this journey than the author of *The Sword And The Shield: The Revolutionary Lives Of Malcolm X And Martin Luther King Jr*, Dr Peniel E Joseph.

"The mythology around both men frames them as opposites," he explains. "It frames Malcolm as Dr King's evil twin. It frames Dr King as this saint who would just give everybody a hug if he was alive right now and that really takes away from understanding the depth and breadth of their political power, their political radicalism and their evolution over time."

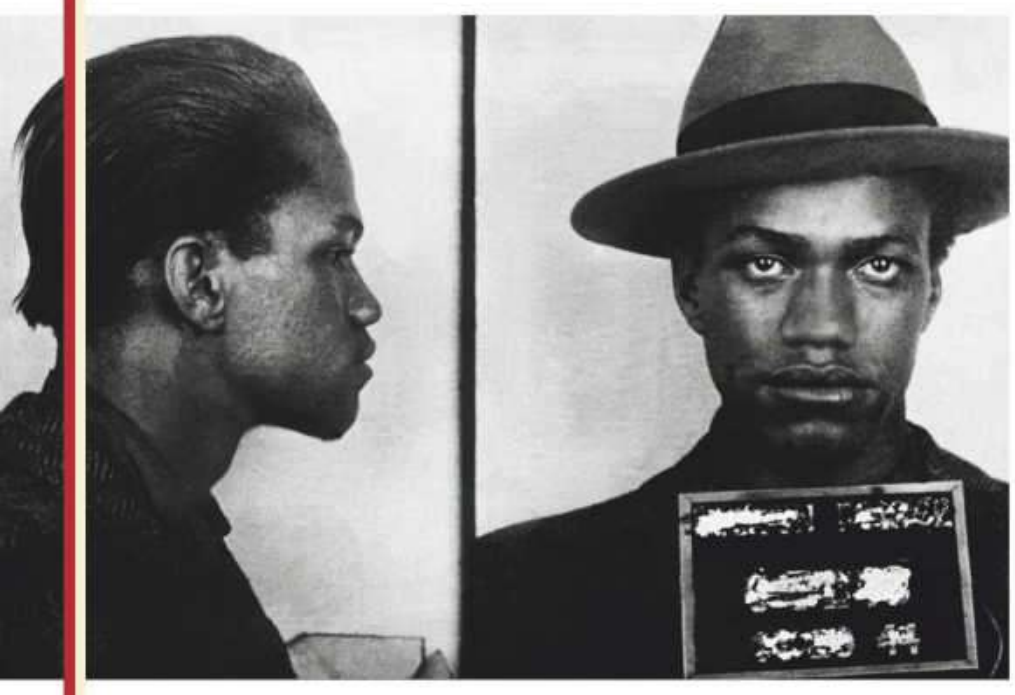
We'll take a closer look at that evolution and convergence of ideas as we progress, but first it's interesting to consider where each man came from and how that might have informed his world view. "Martin Luther King Jr is raised in an upper-middle class, elite household in Atlanta, Georgia," Joseph tells us. "His father is a preacher, his mother is present in his life and it's a very comfortable upbringing. Malcolm X is raised in Omaha and in Lansing, Michigan on farms, so he's a country boy. His father is murdered by white supremacists when he's six years old and his mother is put in a psychiatric facility, so he's a foster child by the time he's in elementary school. And then he becomes a hustler in Boston and Harlem as a teenager and he's finally arrested for theft and spends seven years in prison. When Malcolm is in prison, Dr King is at Morehouse College, the most prestigious, historically black, all-men's college that you could go to then or now. He goes and gets a theological degree

RIGHT
It was Malcolm X who introduced Muhammad Ali to the Nation of Islam

MIDDLE-RIGHT
King attends the Ghana independence ceremony in 1957

BOTTOM-RIGHT
Speaking at a rally in Harlem in 1963, Malcolm X points to a photo of a dead black protestor

BELOW
A mugshot for Malcolm Little, aged 18 when he was arrested in 1944



CIVIL RIGHTS TIMELINE Important milestones towards justice

17 May 1954
BROWN VS BOARD OF EDUCATION
The United States Supreme Court makes the landmark ruling that segregation of students on the basis of race is unconstitutional, essentially ending all-white school policies and the 'separate but equal' rules of Jim Crow.

1 December 1955
ROSA PARKS
As part of an ongoing and organised protest against the segregation of buses in Alabama, Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat when the driver moves the dividing line of the bus back, sparking a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, and focusing national attention on the issue.

September 1957
THE LITTLE ROCK NINE
Nine African American students attend Little Rock Central High School for the first time; a school that had been all-white up until that point. A large mob and members of the Arkansas National Guard block their path to the school, ultimately requiring the students to have military protection to enter after weeks of protest.

1 February 1960
THE GREENSBORO FOUR
Four students begin a sit-in at the whites-only lunch counter of Woolworth department store. Denied service, they refuse to leave when asked and remain seated until closing. They return again the next day with 20 more students, with the sit-in growing in the following weeks to take up every seat.

14 November 1960
RUBY BRIDGES
Six-year-old Ruby Bridges hopes to attend the previously all-white school of William Frantz Elementary in New Orleans. She requires an armed escort by federal marshals to navigate the angry mob leading up to and outside the school. This continues every day of the school year and she is taught alone in an empty classroom by her teacher, Barbara Henry.

4x © Getty Images

at seminary school – Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania – and then gets a PhD at Boston University."

The strong religious upbringing of King clearly had a massive influence on his life, becoming a preacher himself as well as a political activist and integrating his faith deep into his speeches. Meanwhile, Malcolm's tough upbringing and the tragedies he endured help to explain the righteous anger and pain he expressed as a minister for the NOI. However, Joseph does point out one curious similarity in their upbringing: "They're both impacted by the movie *Gone With The Wind*. It premieres in Atlanta when Dr King is ten years old. Malcolm is 14 years old and sees that movie in Mason, Michigan, and talks about squirming in the movie theatre at all the racial stereotypes that the movie's filled with. It's filled with black women who are servants who are getting slapped in the face by white women who are masters, and it's this sepia-toned, nostalgic vision of racial slavery. So that's similar."

"THE MYTHOLOGY AROUND BOTH MEN FRAMES THEM AS OPPOSITES"

It was during his time in prison for burglary that the then-Malcolm Little was introduced to Islam by some of his siblings and he joined the NOI. Its leader Elijah Muhammad took a personal interest in him, with letters being sent between them, before he was released in 1952. He abandoned his 'slave name' of Little and became Malcolm X, a minister in the NOI advocating for black separatism (which was the policy of the organisation), first in Chicago and later in Harlem, New York, which would become his base for years to come. The formative years of each man's life are ultimately what frames them as polarised voices in a similar struggle.

"Malcolm X is really black America's prosecuting attorney and he is going to be charging white America with a series of crimes against black humanity," explains Joseph. "I argue in *The Sword And The Shield* that in a way his life's work boils down to radical black dignity, and what he means by black dignity is really black people having the political self-determination to decide their own political futures and fates. They define racism and they define anti-racism and what social justice looks like for themselves. It's connected to the United States, but globally it's also connected to African decolonisation, African independence, Third World independence, Middle East politics, all of it." Radical black dignity is also, importantly, about building up a black cultural identity that is independent of white America and building self-worth, which is a big part of where ideas like Black Power would later come from.

King naturally comes to things from a different direction. "Martin Luther King Jr is really the defence attorney," says Joseph. "He defends black lives to white people and white lives to black people. He's really advocating for radical black citizenship and his notion of citizenship is going to get more expansive over time; it's going to be more than just voting rights and ending segregation. It's going to become about ending poverty, food justice, health care, a living wage, universal basic income for everyone." So radical black citizenship is about outward expression, about African Americans having an impact on the social systems that are in place, becoming engaged and demanding to be heard.

4 May 1961
THE FREEDOM RIDES
Following the protests of the bus boycott started by Rosa Parks, the Freedom Rides are intended to test new rulings banning segregation on interstate travel. Seven African American and six white protesters board two buses and face violence in South Carolina on 14 May when a bus is forced to stop to change a tyre.

3 April 1963
BIRMINGHAM
The Birmingham, Alabama, demonstrations against segregation encompass sit-ins, boycotts, mass protests and marches to City Hall. Martin Luther King is arrested on 12 April for violating anti-protest rules. The authorities use fire hoses and dogs against protesters, causing national outrage and prompting JFK to propose a Civil Rights Bill.

28 August 1963
MARCH ON WASHINGTON
The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom is the culmination of protests throughout 1963. An estimated 250,000 people gather peacefully on the National Mall in Washington DC, where they hear speeches from Civil Rights leaders like a young John Lewis and, famously, Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech.

2 July 1964
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT
Picking up and strengthening the proposal by President Kennedy before his assassination, Lyndon B Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act into law. It is intended to end racial discrimination in the workplace and in finding employment, end voter discrimination and end segregation of public facilities.

7 March 1965
THE SELMA MARCH
A march from Selma in Alabama to Montgomery is organised to protest against voting discrimination and to advocate for a federal voting law. The attempt is met with vicious violence by state troopers. A second attempt led by King is stopped short when troopers appear to make way to them. A final attempt on 21 March is completed, with 25,000 in attendance.

"True peace is not merely the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice"

17 September 1958

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere"

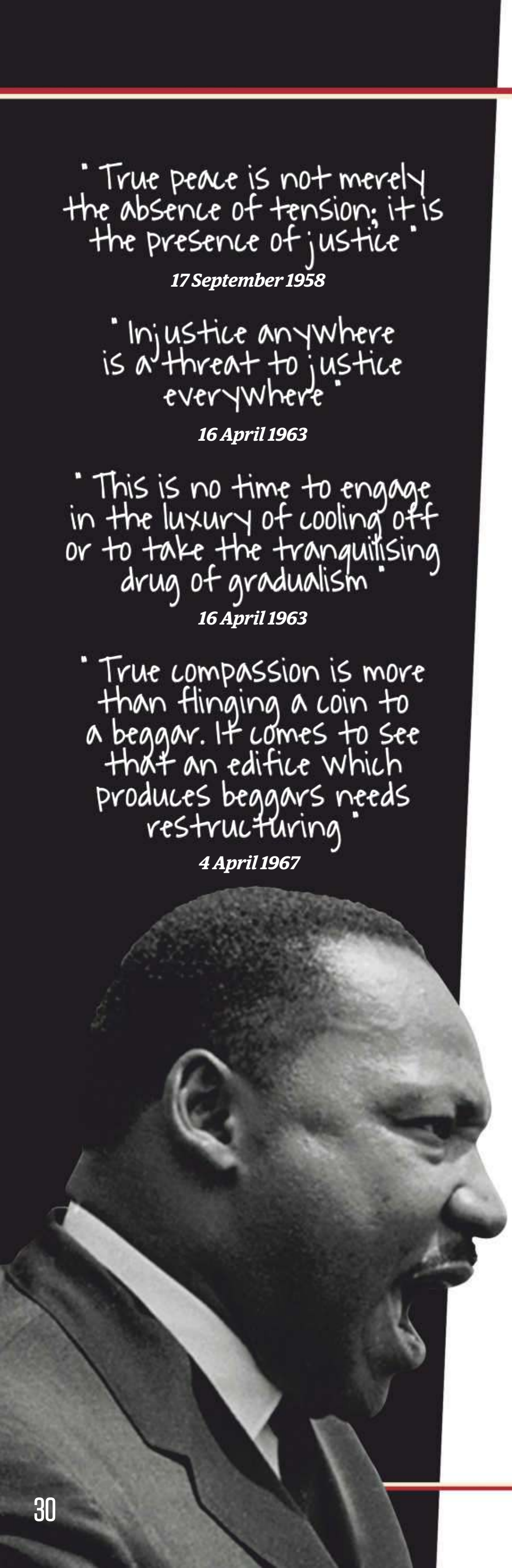
16 April 1963

"This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilising drug of gradualism"

16 April 1963

"True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring"

4 April 1967



ABOVE
Police use fire hoses to subdue protesters in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963

RIGHT
Malcolm X gives a speech in Harlem, which became his political home base

MIDDLE-RIGHT
King met President Johnson on a number occasions, but the meetings declined as King pushed for more radical reforms

BOTTOM-RIGHT
Malcolm X meets Prince Faisal al-Saud, who would later become king of Saudi Arabia

These two approaches, one that builds personal identity and another that looks to express that identity and have it recognised by a system that's set up to ignore black voices, seem more complementary than adversarial when we look at them from a slight remove. "Their differences really become differences of tactics rather than goals," says Joseph. "They're both going to come to see that you need dignity and citizenship and those goals are going to converge over time, but it's the tactics and how we get to those goals."

Famously, though, they did not always see eye to eye. Malcolm X in particular took aim at King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on multiple occasions (likely because he was a high-profile target and Malcolm was nothing if not media savvy). Malcolm regularly referred to King as an 'Uncle Tom', implying that his nonviolent strategy was either too accommodating to white America or even saying he was being subsidised by white America to keep African Americans defenceless. King for his part warned, "Fiery, demagogic oratory in the black ghettos, urging Negroes to arm themselves and prepare to engage in violence, as [Malcolm X] has done, can reap nothing but grief."

And yet despite the animosity between the two men publicly, Malcolm X continually attempted to reach out to King over the years. He sent articles and NOI reading materials and invited him to speeches and meetings. On 31 July 1963, Malcolm X even publicly called for unity. "If capitalistic Kennedy and communistic Khrushchev can find something in common on which to form a United Front despite their tremendous ideological differences, it is a disgrace for Negro leaders not to be able to submerge our 'minor' differences in order to seek a common solution to a common problem posed by a Common Enemy," he wrote, inviting Civil Rights leaders to join him in Harlem to speak at a rally. But they did not attend, perhaps because shortly after they would be attending the March on Washington and they were deep in planning. The slight was taken, though,

"THEIR DIFFERENCES REALLY BECOME DIFFERENCES OF TACTICS RATHER THAN GOALS"

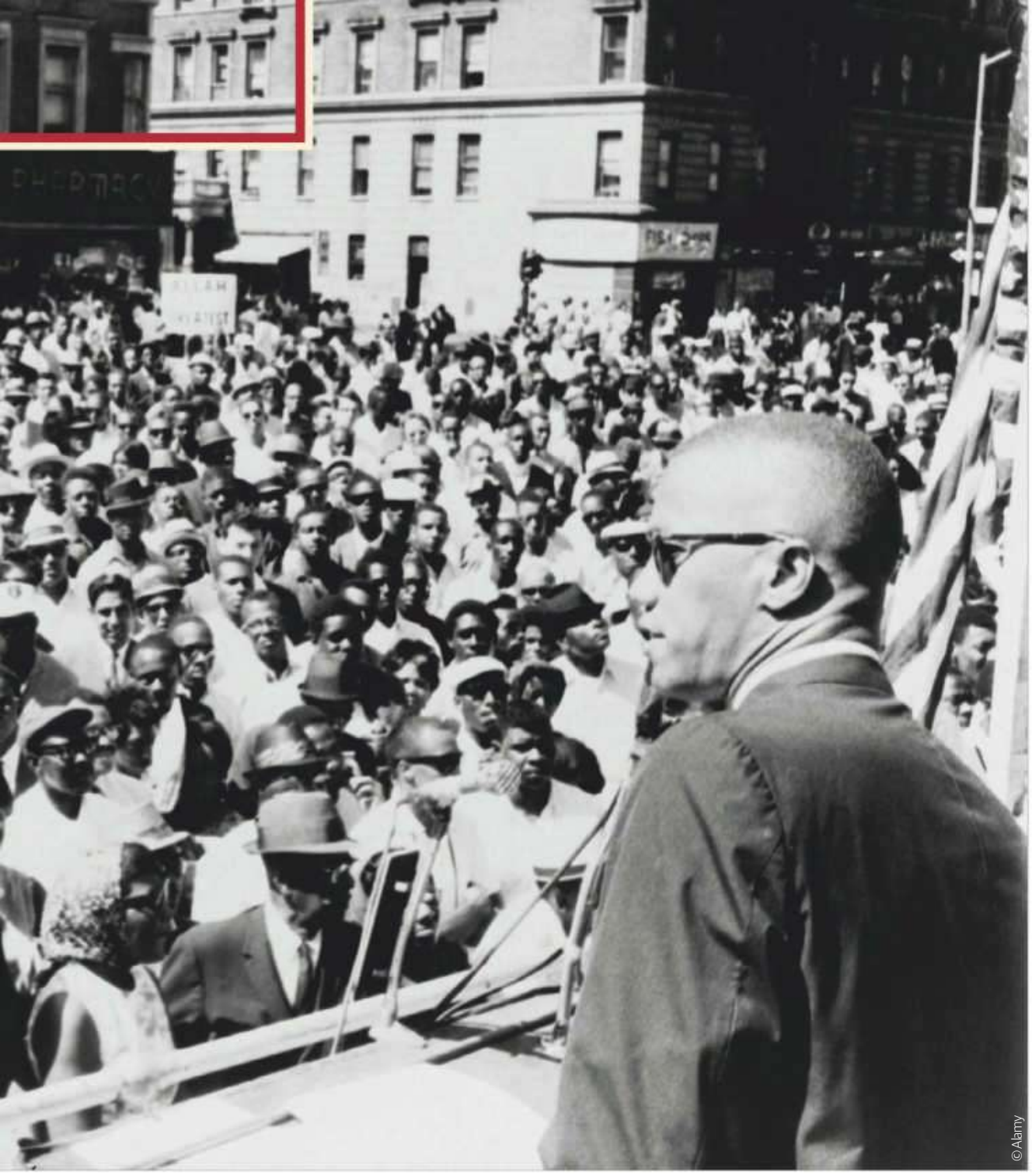


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Image source: wiki/Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum

with Malcolm dismissing the August 1963 event the 'Farce on Washington'.

Despite the rhetoric, Joseph thinks Malcolm was still learning much from King's activities. "Dr King is the person who helps mobilise Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 and King is going to be facing German Shepherds and fire hoses and it's going to be a big, global media spectacle," he says. "King writes his famous *Letter From Birmingham Jail* during that period. Malcolm is in Washington DC for most of that spring as temporary head of Mosque No. 4 there and he's really going to be influenced by King's mobilisations – his ability to mobilise large numbers of people – even as he's critical of King because of the nonviolence and the fact that so many kids and women are being brutalised."

The really big shift in world view for Malcolm X comes the following year as he gradually breaks away from Elijah Muhammad (who was mired in allegations of extramarital affairs) and the NOI and seeks to define his own path forward. "By 1964 in 'The Ballot Or The Bullet' speech, you see Malcolm X talking about voting rights as part of black liberation and freedom. You see him in an interview with Robert Penn Warren saying that he and Dr King have the same goal, which is human dignity, but they have different ways of getting there," explains Joseph.

Malcolm vs Martin

"We are nonviolent with people who are nonviolent with us"

1963

"We didn't land on Plymouth Rock, Plymouth Rock landed on us"

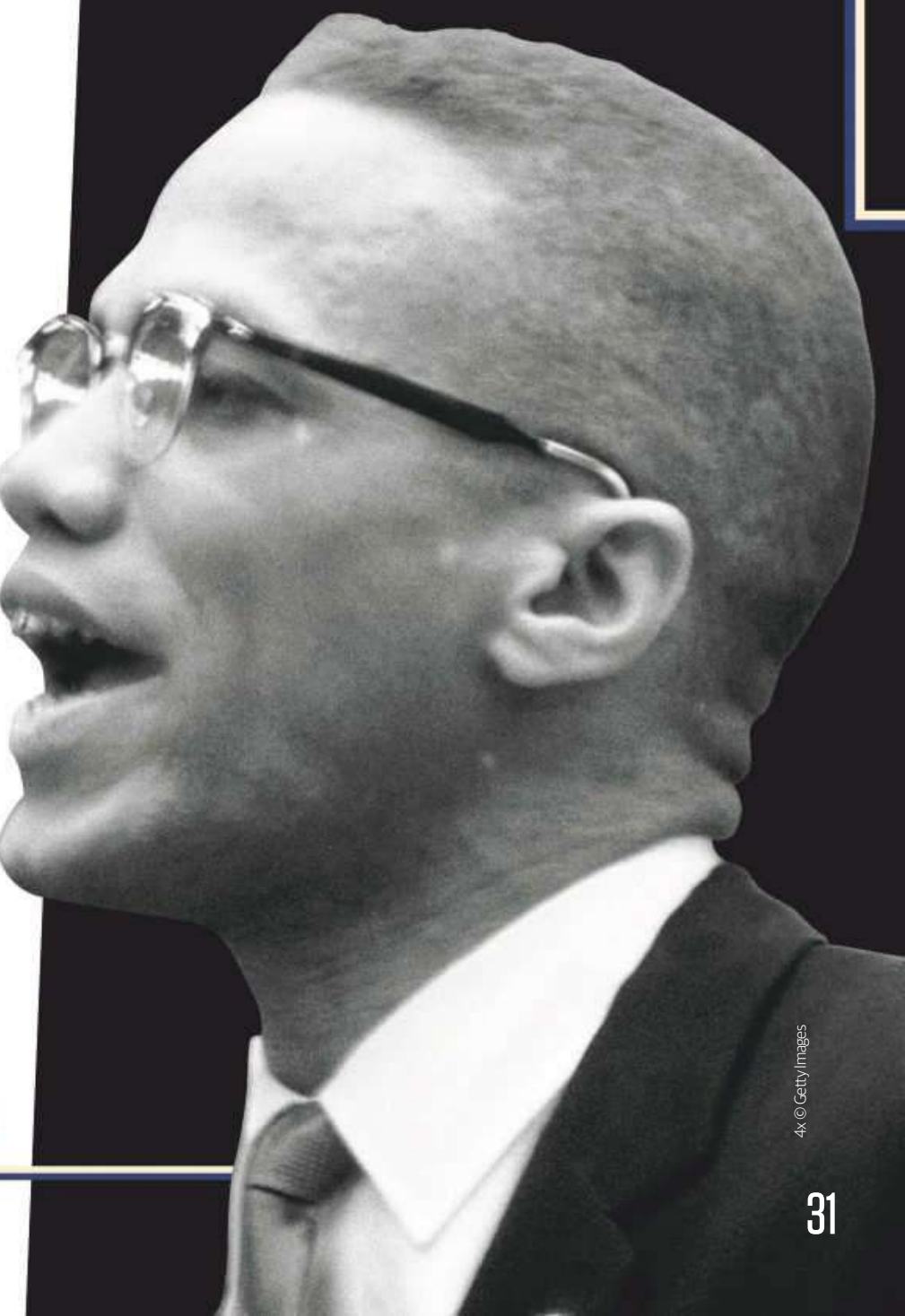
29 March 1964

"We can never get Civil Rights in America until our human rights are first restored"

25 August 1964

"You can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom"

4 April 1967



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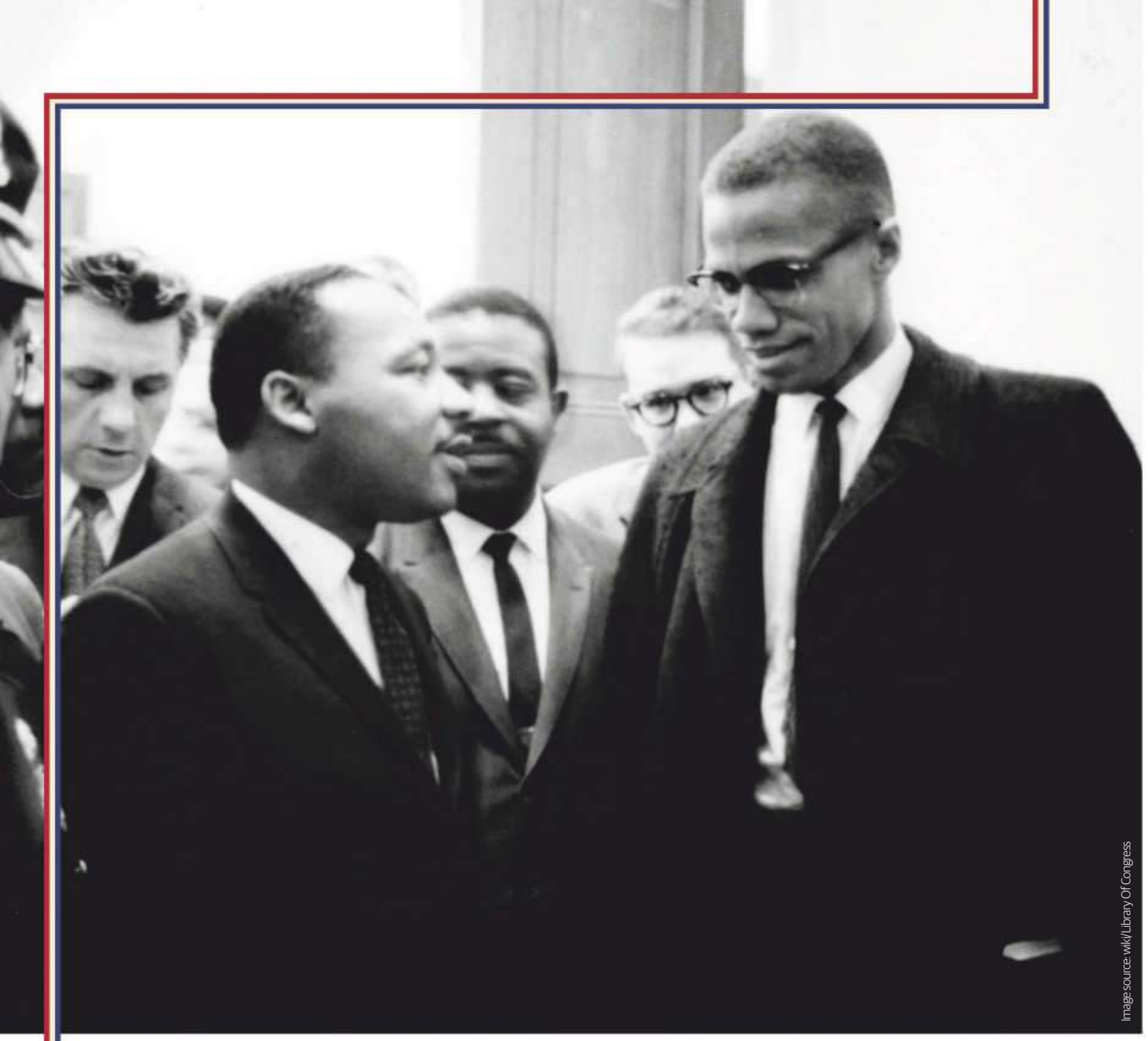


Image source: wiki/Library Of Congress

It's around this time that Malcolm X left the United States for several months, travelling to Egypt, Lebanon, Liberia, Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana and Saudi Arabia, including taking his pilgrimage to Mecca where he received his new Islamic name, El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. The trip made a big impression on him, and he spoke subsequently about how seeing Muslims of so many different ethnic and cultural backgrounds worshipping together opened his eyes to the real possibility of racial integration and peace.

Dr King and on the couch while Dr King is doing his press conference and they meet afterwards, exchanging pleasantries." It was a moment captured by only a couple of photos, catching them mid-conversation with Malcolm recorded as saying, "I'm throwing myself into the heart of the Civil Rights struggle."

Malcolm X continued to make overtures to King in the months that followed, offering him protection in St Augustine, Florida, that spring as protestors fought for desegregation of its beaches and

ABOVE
The only time the two men met was on Capitol Hill in 1964

BELOW
The events of Bloody Sunday in Selma, Alabama, shocked the world

"KING BECOMES THIS VERY PROPHETIC, RADICAL FIGURE AFTER MALCOLM'S ASSASSINATION"

All of this actually took place not long after the two men had met for what would be the first and only time. In the midst of the passing of the Civil Rights Act, as it was being filibustered on the Senate floor, Dr Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X crossed paths on Capitol Hill. "They both come and are talking to reporters and doing press conferences in support of the Civil Rights Act," says Joseph. "They're both coming there for the same reason. People are surprised that Malcolm is there and he's watching the Senate and he's doing his interviews and there's a point where Malcolm is in the same room as

playgrounds and later in Selma, Alabama, as King's attention turned to voting rights where he felt he had a role to play. "I think Malcolm gave King more room to operate and I think Malcolm knew this," says Joseph. "When he visits Selma shortly before his own death, he's trying to visit Dr King in February of 1965 in Alabama but King is jailed and he gets to visit Coretta Scott King gives a speech and visits some of the student organisers. He tells Coretta Scott King that he's only there to support her husband and he wants people to know that if her husband's advocacy of voting rights is not accomplished that there are

other alternative forces out there that are going to be led by him. So he definitely offers King more strategic leeway."

Whether or not the two men could have ultimately found a way to coordinate their approaches in a less ad hoc fashion we will never know because on 21 February 1965, just days before the Selma to Montgomery marches were about to be attempted by King's movement, Malcolm X was assassinated in New York. The exact details remain disputed, but we do know that he was about to speak at the Audubon Ballroom, where he was expected to announce plans for voter registration drives, denounce police brutality and call for the UN to speak up on human rights violations in America. As he began to speak a scuffle broke out, likely as a distraction, and a man approached the stage with a shotgun, shooting him. Two more men rushed the stage with pistols and shot him again as he lay on the floor. The impact of his death would be felt throughout the movement, and quite profoundly by King.

"One of the surprising things is that we don't discuss the way in which the person who is most radicalised by Malcolm's assassination is Martin Luther King Jr," Joseph explains. "He breaks with Lyndon Johnson on 4 April 1967 with the Riverside Church speech in New York, where he says that the United States is the greatest purveyor of violence in the world. Malcolm had always talked about racial slavery and how racial slavery had shaped the present and King talks about that much more after 1965. He's

TOP
King gives his 'I Have A Dream' speech on the National Mall

ABOVE & RIGHT
Malcolm X was critical of the March on Washington, but it mobilised hundreds of thousands of people

4x © Getty Images

BEHIND THE MOVEMENT

The people who helped shape the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s

MARCUS GARVEY

17 AUG 1887 – 10 JUNE 1940

An early proponent of Black Nationalism, Marcus Garvey believed in a pan-African movement that involved global mobilisation of black people against oppression. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and even launched the Black Star Line to build trade links between Africa and America.

BAYARD RUSTIN

17 MARCH 1912 – 24 AUG 1987

One of Martin Luther King Jr's closest advisors and one of the organisers of the March on Washington in 1963, Rustin grew up in a Quaker family who were heavily involved in the NAACP. As well as fighting for Civil Rights, Rustin was also openly gay and faced further discrimination both within and outside the movement.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

7 OCT 1897 – 25 FEB 1975

The man who would become the head of the Nation of Islam was born to former-slave sharecroppers in Georgia. He took over the NOI from its founder Wallace D Fard after he mysteriously disappeared. He was a strong advocate for black separatism and helped develop Malcolm X and his own successor, Louis Farrakhan.

FANNIE LOU HAMER

6 OCT 1917 – 14 MARCH 1977

Joining the movement in 1962 to fight for voting rights, Hamer was fired from her job because of her activism. In 1964 she co-founded the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which challenged for speaking time at the Democratic Convention. Her testimony before the DNC credentials committee garnered national attention.

ELLA BAKER

13 DEC 1903 – 13 DEC 1986

While Baker worked with Martin Luther King as director of the SCLC, her commitment to mobilising black youth in America saw her split from King in 1960 to form the independent Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, focused on grassroots organising over the top-down leadership she saw elsewhere.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

29 JUNE 1941 – 15 NOV 1998

The originator of the rallying cry of 'Black Power', Stokely Carmichael (later known as Kwame Ture) originally joined the SNCC (and became its chairman) before seeking a more militant path closer to that of Malcolm X. He ultimately aligned more with the newly formed Black Panther Party and moved to Guinea.

1-4 Image source: wiki/Library Of Congress
5-6 © Getty Images

in Marks, Mississippi, helping to lead the Poor People's Campaign and he's in tears because there's so much poverty there. He says that what the people in Marks, Mississippi, are experiencing is a crime and they're going to go to Washington DC. Malcolm had always said that black poverty, racial segregation and violence were crimes, but Martin Luther King starts speaking in that language."

As King turns his attention to economic inequality through the mid- to late-1960s, he digs deeper and deeper into the wider historic inequalities and injustices of America. "He becomes this very prophetic, radical figure after Malcolm's assassination and he's much more interested in race and blackness too," says Joseph. "There's a speech he makes in 1967 where he says they even tell you 'A white lie is better than a black lie'. He gets into it in a granular way; and this is King, not Malcolm. It's Dr King who says that the halls of the US Congress are 'running wild with racism'. King is testifying before the Kerner Commission, the president's riot commission, and talking about the depth and breadth of white racism. He speaks to the American Psychological Association in September 1967 and says that white people in the United States are producing chaos, blame black people for the chaos and say there would be peace if not for the chaos that they produce. He's really much more candid and much more blunt, much more radical, much more revolutionary and there are no more meetings with the president of the United States."

It is perhaps because they evolved and were willing to learn from one another that each has remained as relevant today as they were in the 1960s. "Even in this year of 2020 with George Floyd and Black Lives Matter and these global protest movements, the only way to understand these movements is to understand Malcolm and Martin who were talking about so much of these issues of police brutality and the criminal justice system, racial segregation and poverty and state-sanctioned violence," says Joseph.

Which is why, adds Joseph, that getting beyond the mythology of these men is so important. "What did they actually do? What did they think? What were the networks that they connected with? Because both of them are in these really important networks with people like Bayard Rustin, who was the organiser of the March on Washington; James Baldwin; Ella Baker, who founded the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Fannie Lou Hamer, who Malcolm meets up with as a voting rights activist. They

Malcolm vs Martin

RIGHT
Today both Malcolm and Martin are frequently depicted together by activists

BELOW
President Lyndon B Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act with King in attendance

BOTTOM
Malcolm was unable to finish the work of creating a more international movement for racial justice

The Sword And The Shield: The Revolutionary Lives Of Malcolm X And Martin Luther King Jr by Dr Peniel E Joseph is available now from Basic Books

2x © Getty Images

Image source: wiki/Library Of Congress

connect so many different networks. Globally too: Malcolm in Cairo with [Ghanaian president, Kwame] Nkrumah, Malcolm in Tanzania. Martin Luther King is a Nobel Peace Prize winner and spends a month in India. Both Malcolm and King know Nkrumah, Malcolm from Harlem and King in Ghana having met him in 1957. They're extraordinary figures. Malcolm is the person who politicises Muhammad Ali. So they are these global revolutionary figures and they are subversive. They are trying to transform the status quo and unless we really watch that through line and follow them we can get stuck with them as these icons where we don't understand they are both the sword and the shield."

"IT'S DR KING WHO SAYS THAT THE HALLS OF THE US CONGRESS ARE 'RUNNING WILD WITH RACISM'"

At this point it seems clear that each man was somewhat more complex, multifaceted and evolving than the monolithic figures that are often depicted. The question that hangs around them, though, is could either of them have achieved as much as they did if the other hadn't been there challenging them? "I think they both need each other," concludes Joseph. "They both have misapprehensions about each other and they make mistakes about each other. King thinks Malcolm is this narrow, anti-white black nationalist. Malcolm thinks King is this bourgeois, reform-minded Uncle Tom when they start out. Neither of them are those things, so they both needed the other."

What's more, the contributions of each remain important to this day. "Dr King is this major global political mobiliser and the way in which he frames this idea of racial justice globally is very important, and the numbers he attracts are very important," says Joseph. Meanwhile Malcolm has perhaps given us much of the vocabulary around racial justice even in the 21st century: "Malcolm is the first modern activist who is really saying black lives matter in a really deep and definitive way and becomes the avatar of the Black Power movement."

10 Greatest Kingmakers

Revealing the power brokers who reshaped empires and controlled successions throughout history

Written by Jessica Leggett

Among the many things that history can teach us, it's clear that succession – whether royal or political – is not as straightforward as you might presume. As the term would suggest, a kingmaker is a person or group who's instrumental in arranging these successions, either because they're not eligible themselves or they don't want the position. Usually, historical kingmakers were well connected politically and some of them even had ties with the military too, which gave them the ability to manoeuvre successions as they saw fit – often through the means of manipulation and bloodshed. Even though these kingmakers did not take the top job for themselves, they often sought to exert their power and influence through the people they chose, to varying degrees of success, although not every kingmaker had this goal in mind. There have been plenty of times in history where the true power lay behind the scenes and there are many historical figures who can be described as kingmakers. Here, we've chosen ten people who certainly prove how diverse the term 'kingmaker' can really be.

© Getty Images

The Sayyid Brothers

***Lived:** Sayyid Abdullah Khan, 1666-1722*
Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan Barha, c.1668-1720
***Where:** Mughal Empire*

The kingmakers of the Mughal Empire and the power behind the throne, the Sayyid Brothers chose, installed and removed several puppet kings who had no independent control or influence. Following the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, the brothers supported Bahādur Shah I in his successful bid to overthrow his older brother to become emperor. After his death, he was succeeded by Jahāndār Shāh, but the brothers had him assassinated, replacing him with his nephew, Prince Farrukhsiyar. The new emperor held no real power as the brothers ruled behind the scenes, but after realising that Farrukhsiyar wanted to remove them, they had him assassinated in April 1719. The next puppet emperor was Farrukhsiyar's cousin, Rafi ud-Darajat, who died just four months later, after which the brothers installed his older brother, Rafi ud-Daulah (Shāh Jahān II) who died that September. At 17 years old, Muhammad Shah, the fourth son of Bahādur Shah, ascended the throne with the Sayyid brothers as his regents until 1720. With the help of nobleman Nizam-ul-Mulk, the emperor had the pair assassinated, finally taking control and ending the corrupt reign of the Sayyid brothers.

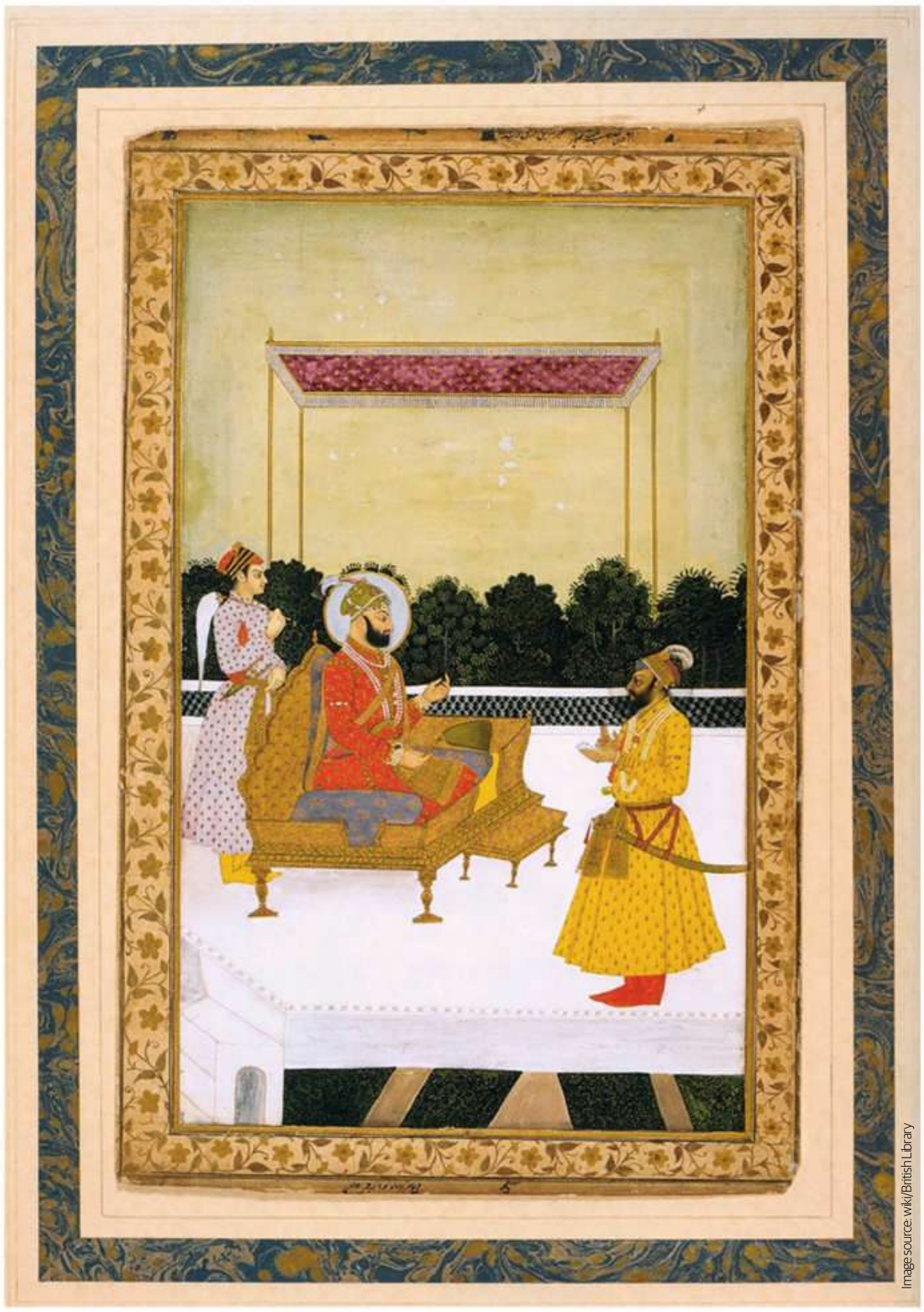


Image source: wiki/British Library

Agrippina the Younger

***Lived:** 15-59 CE **Where:** Roman Empire*

When it comes to kingmakers of the Roman Empire, your first thought might be of the Praetorian guard, who assassinated Emperor Caligula and replaced him with his uncle, Claudius. Still, for this list we're going to make the case for Agrippina, Claudius's niece and fourth wife, who held a lot of power during his reign. After marrying Claudius and becoming empress, Agrippina persuaded her husband to adopt her son from her first marriage, Lucius, who subsequently took the name Nero. She worked to prevent Claudius from naming his son Britannicus as his heir, wanting him to choose Nero instead, and she even executed Britannicus's tutor, who confronted her for her devious plot. Claudius later regretted his decision to choose Nero over Britannicus and he began to favour his son again before his sudden death in 54 CE – as ancient chroniclers would have us believe, he was poisoned by Agrippina. After Claudius's death, Agrippina became de facto ruler of the empire and sole influence over her son at the start of his reign, as the young emperor was only 16 years old, and she murdered the political rivals who opposed her. However, her relationship with Nero soured and her influence over him weakened, with Agrippina threatening to turn her support over to Britannicus and make him emperor. In retaliation, Nero poisoned Britannicus and Agrippina was eventually exiled, before she was murdered on her son's orders in 59 CE.

© Getty Images

Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick

***Lived:* 1428-71 *Where:* England**

Image source: wiki/Rous Roll

No list of great kingmakers would be complete without Warwick, the first man to be described as such. He joined forces with Richard, Duke of York, to depose Henry VI at the start of the Wars of the Roses. When York was killed in 1460, Warwick supported the duke's son, Edward, who was proclaimed king after their victory at the Battle of Towton, with Henry and his wife, Margaret of Anjou, fleeing to Scotland. Warwick effectively ruled the country for the new king, but tensions rose after Edward's secret marriage to Elizabeth Woodville, at a time when Warwick had been trying to arrange Edward's marriage as part of alliance negotiations with France. Humiliated and losing his influence to the Woodville family, Warwick married his daughter, Isabel, to Edward's younger brother, George, Duke of Clarence, and together they launched a rebellion against the king. Edward was captured and imprisoned, but Warwick couldn't gain the support of all the elite and was forced to release the king. Exiled in France, Warwick sought an alliance with Margaret to restore Henry to the throne. Launching another rebellion that forced Edward to flee in 1470, Warwick installed Henry as a puppet king, but Edward returned with an army and Warwick was killed at the Battle of Barnet.

Image source: wiki/Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress

James Farley

***Lived:* 1888-1976 *Where:* USA**

Widely regarded as a political kingmaker, a different kind to the ones mentioned so far on this list, Farley is cited as the genius behind the election of President Franklin D Roosevelt. He successfully spearheaded Roosevelt's gubernatorial campaign to become the next New York governor in 1928 and his reelection campaign two years later. Farley believed Roosevelt had what it took to win the presidency and Roosevelt asked him to lead his presidential campaign in 1932. When Roosevelt won, he made Farley postmaster general, at the time a powerful and influential position in the Cabinet, as well as the chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Farley helped to forge the New Deal coalition, which gave the Democrats support from various groups including Catholics, African Americans, labour unions and farmers, and helped Roosevelt to win a second term in 1936. Despite their success, the relationship between Farley and Roosevelt soured. In 1940, Farley resigned from his positions in Roosevelt's administration, opposing the president's decision to run for a third time despite the tradition that presidents only serve two terms. Farley threw his own hat into the ring for the Democratic nomination but Roosevelt was nominated again for a third time. When he asked Farley to join his re-election campaign, the latter refused, bringing a final end to their partnership.

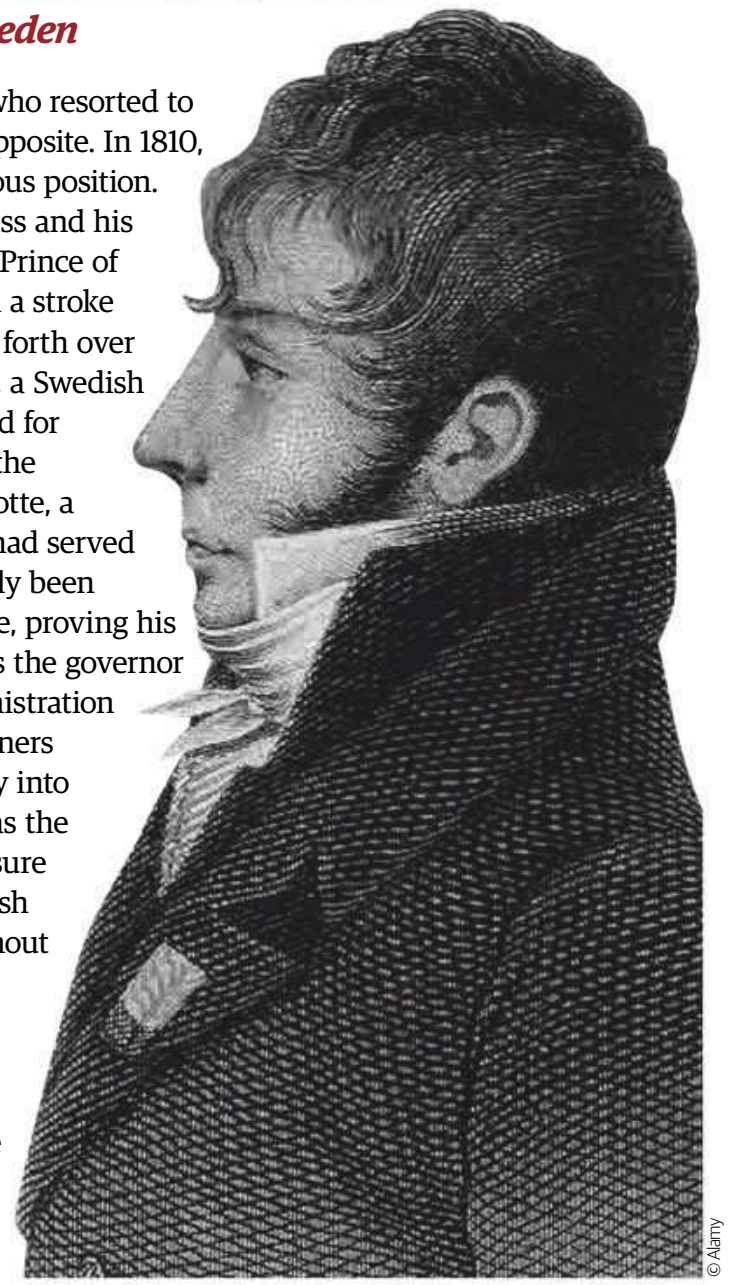
Godwin, Earl of Wessex

***Lived:* Unknown – 1053 *Where:* England**

Before the Earl of Warwick earned his reputation as England's infamous kingmaker, there was Godwin, Earl of Wessex. He was made an earl in 1018 during the reign of Cnut, becoming the king's trusted advisor and marrying Gytha Thorkelsdóttir, whose brother was married to Cnut's sister. After Cnut died in 1035, a fight ensued over the succession between his sons Harthacnut and Harold Harefoot, as well as Alfred Ætheling, his stepson and son of the former king, Æthelred the Unready. Godwin supported Harold and to secure the throne for him, he pretended to be an ally of Alfred's before capturing and blinding him, with Alfred dying shortly after. When Harold died in 1040, Godwin turned his support to Harthacnut, who died just two years later, and then to Edward – Alfred's brother – who became Edward the Confessor. The earl's daughter, Edith, married Edward, making Godwin the father-in-law of the English king. However, he blamed the king for the growing influence of the Normans in England and turned against him, with Godwin and his sons exiled in 1051. Not to be pushed aside, Godwin forced his way back into England with an armed campaign and he was reinstated as earl, shortly before his death. The earl consistently switched his allegiances to maintain his power and his son, Harold Godwinson, would become the last crowned Anglo-Saxon king of England before his death at the Battle of Hastings.

Baron Carl Otto Mörner

***Lived:* 1781-1868 *Where:* Sweden**



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While this list is full of kingmakers who resorted to violence, Carl Otto Mörner was the opposite. In 1810, Sweden's monarchy was in a precarious position. King Charles XIII was old and childless and his adopted heir, Charles August, Crown Prince of Sweden, had just died suddenly from a stroke at only 41. As debates went back and forth over who his successor should be, Mörner, a Swedish courtier and envoy to Paris, advocated for Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte to become the king's new heir-presumptive. Bernadotte, a supporter of the French Revolution, had served under Napoleon and had subsequently been made a marshal of the French Empire, proving his military ability. He had also served as the governor of Hanover, demonstrating his administration skills, and he'd treated Swedish prisoners well after the French forced their way into the city of Lübeck. For Mörner, he was the perfect candidate. In fact, he was so sure that he offered Bernadotte the Swedish crown through his own volition, without consulting the Riksdag. The Riksdag arrested Mörner but, as it turned out, Bernadotte's candidacy was popular. In the end, Bernadotte was named the new Crown Prince in 1810 and he succeeded the throne as Charles XIV in 1818. His dynasty continues to rule Sweden today.

Image source: wiki/mercedesrochelle.com

Image source: wiki/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Flavius Ricimer

***Lived:* c. 405-472 CE**
***Where:* Western Roman Empire**

Descended from barbarian royalty, Ricimer was a Romanised Germanic general who rose to power under Emperor Avitus. He was promoted to a prominent military position, fighting tribes who opposed the Western Roman Empire. After defeating the Vandals at the Battles of Agrigentum and Corsica in 456 CE, he was named commander of the empire's field army in Italy, the second-highest military ranking of the empire. However, Ricimer plotted against Avitus with another general, Majorian, and after convincing the Roman Senate they deposed and executed the emperor. In the aftermath, Eastern Emperor Leo I appointed Ricimer as magister militum of the Western Roman Empire – the highest military position of the Roman Empire. Powerful but lacking the legitimacy to succeed to the throne himself, Ricimer chose to rule the Western Empire through puppet emperors, beginning with his collaborator, Majorian. Unfortunately, Majorian proved to be a capable ruler in his own right and so Ricimer convinced the Senate to turn against him, allowing him to depose and execute his former friend in 461 CE. He replaced Majorian with Libius Severus, who he ruled through until Severus died in 465 CE, after which he was forced to accept Leo's choice of emperor, Anthemius. Although Ricimer married Anthemius's daughter, he had his father-in-law killed in 470 CE after the emperor's expedition against the Vandals failed. Ricimer again appointed another emperor, Olybrius, before his death just a few weeks later.

Wiremu Tamihana

Lived: *c.1805-1866*
Where: *New Zealand*

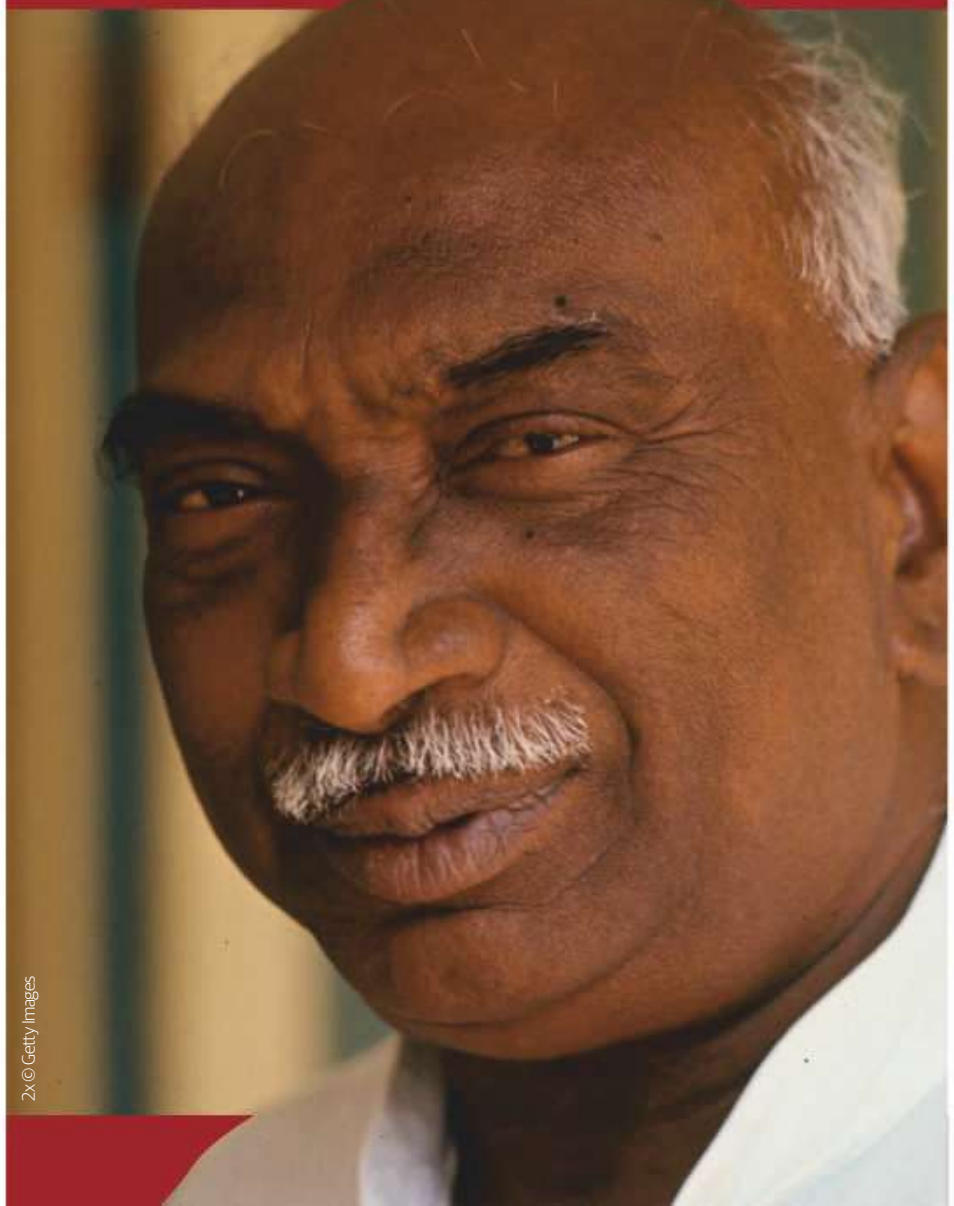
Often referred to as 'The Kingmaker' due to his role in the Māori King Movement, also known as Kīngitanga, Wiremu Tāmihana Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa was rangatira (chief) of the Ngāti Hauā iwi. Embracing Christian beliefs and driven by a desire for peace, Tāmihana hoped that the movement would maintain peace, law and order among the tribes and protect the Māori against European settlement. He took a leading role in the election of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, who was reluctant, as the first Māori king in 1857. In 1858, Pōtatau was recognised by the tribes of central North Island and confirmed as king, with Tāmihana placing a Bible over the king's head, a ritual that is still performed today for Māori monarchs. To help support the movement, Tāmihana also helped to set up *Te Hokioi e Rere Atu Na*, a Māori language newspaper. However, the British government was suspicious of the Kīngitanga, believing it to be a rebellion, despite Tāmihana asserting that the Kīngitanga did not conflict with the Queen's authority – his hope was that the queen and the Māori king could work together. Nonetheless, war broke out in Taranaki in 1860 and the British invaded the lands of the Kīngitanga. Tāmihana attempted to mediate between the two sides but ultimately the Kīngitanga Māori were forced to retreat and they ended up in territory of the western North Island, which became known as the King Country.

Main: © Alamy **Inset:** wiki/Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections 661-6

Kumaraswami Kamaraj

***Lived:* 1903-75 *Where:* India**

Remembered as 'the kingmaker' of Indian politics during the 1960s, Kamaraj was instrumental in installing two prime ministers of India while serving as president of the Indian National Congress Party. In 1964, following the death of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Kamaraj was seen as Nehru's natural successor as president of the ruling party, but he refused the position. However, he stopped Morarji Desai, a powerful right-wing opponent, from becoming prime minister and instead he chose Lal Bahadur Shastri, who died less than two years later. Kamaraj was called upon again to select a successor, while Desai tried a second time to become prime minister. Nevertheless, his bid failed as Kamaraj had gathered enough support for India Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, to become the next prime minister. He arranged Gandhi's selection believing that because she was a woman, she would be easy to control as a puppet prime minister. As it turned out, Kamaraj was wrong and in 1969 Gandhi was expelled from the Congress party for numerous reasons, including indiscipline and defiance. The party split as a result, with Ghandi setting up a revival organisation, Indian National Congress (Requisitionists) while Kamaraj became leader of the Indian National Congress (Organisation), also known as the Syndicate, who hoped to oust Gandhi from power. Kamaraj died in 1975 and so did not live to see Gandhi's assassination nine years later.



2x © Getty Images

Mkabayi kaJama

***Lived:* c.1750-1843 *Where:* Zulu Kingdom**

The daughter of Jama kaNdaba, high chief of the Zulu clan, Mkabayi kaJama chose to never marry and instead stay with her family, where she held more power and influence that she would have held anywhere else. When her father died, she acted as regent on behalf of her brother, Senzangakhona, who was too young to rule in his own right. Senzangakhona's first-born son, Shaka, lived away from the Zulu with his mother Nandi and although there are various stories as to why, it is known that Mkabayi kept in contact with her nephew. When Senzangakhona died, it was Mkabayi who gathered the political support that allowed Shaka to usurp his younger half-brother and his father's chosen heir, Sigujana, and become king of the Zulu. However, Shaka's popularity began to decline – especially after the death of his mother – as he made increasingly irrational decisions and relied on coercion to maintain control. Mkabayi took the situation into her own hands again, plotting his downfall and assassination with his half-brothers, Dingane and Mhlangana. She then turned on Mhlangana and had him killed in order for Dingane to assume the throne, but this time her judgement was wrong, as Dingane proved to be a poor ruler. After he was assassinated by another half-brother, Mpande, Mkabayi fell from grace and she was exiled from the kingdom.

Who were the Black Tudors?

Dr Miranda Kaufmann discusses her book ***Black Tudors: The Untold Story*** *and uncovering the lost stories of black people in Tudor England*

Interview by Jessica Leggett

Undoubtedly one of the most popular periods of English history, the Tudor era has been dramatised in various books, television dramas and films, while countless scholars have explored every inch of its history – or so we thought. In her book *Black Tudors: The Untold Story*, Dr Miranda Kaufmann investigates a part of Tudor history that has been forgotten, exploring the lives of African men and women who lived in Tudor and early Stuart England. Challenging people's preconceptions of black Tudors, their day-to-day lives, their careers and even their freedom, Kaufmann's illuminating research provides a vital reassessment of English history that changes our understanding of the Tudors as we know them.

What triggered your interest in black Tudors and why did you decide to write your book?

In my final year as an undergrad at Oxford, I was in a lecture about early modern trade and they mentioned that the Tudors had started trading to Africa in the middle of the 16th century, which was surprising because I had only learnt about the 18th-century trade of enslaved Africans. I found a couple of references in the library to Africans in Elizabethan England and I was inspired to find out more, so that became the subject of my doctorate. I eventually found archival references to over 360 individuals living in Tudor and early Stuart Britain between 1500 and 1640. I wrote the book because I wanted to share what I'd found with the world and change people's

© Getty Images

EXPERT BIO

Dr Miranda Kaufmann is a senior research fellow at the Institute Of Commonwealth Studies. To find out more, visit mirandakaufmann.com

perception of British history. The black presence in Tudor England is an important corrective to the false narrative that black people first arrived in Britain on the Empire Windrush in 1948. This can feed into a negative perspective on the immigration debate, suggesting that as black people have only recently arrived here, there is an option for them to 'go home'. Also, the stories were individually fascinating.

How did you piece together the lives of the black men and women that you wrote about? What sources did you use?

With difficulty! Although other scholars have since published on the topic, those books by Imtiaz Habib and Onyeka Nubia weren't around when I began my research in 2004. Marika Sherwood of the Black and Asian Studies Association was a great help in pointing me towards the primary sources. Parish registers, which record baptisms, marriages and burials, provide information about where and how many people were in the country, but they don't often give a huge amount of biographical information. They might say something like 'John, a blackamoor, was buried on the 3rd of December', and that's about it, although there is an unusually detailed account of Mary Fillis being baptised at St Botolph's, Aldgate, in 1597. There's a small amount of visual evidence, such as the two images of John Blanke in the *Westminster Tournament Roll,* or the portrait of Anne of Denmark with an African attendant. I also used royal and aristocratic household accounts, letters, diaries and state papers. For the book, I often got the most out of legal records that had more detail about people's lives. For example, most of what we know about Jacques Francis, the salvage diver, and Edward Swarthye, comes from the High Court of Admiralty or Star Chamber cases.

Unfortunately, there aren't any primary accounts by the black Tudors themselves, so you have to read the sources written by white men backwards and try to grasp the black experience. A lot of historians looking at black history encounter this problem. When I couldn't find a huge amount of biographical information about the black people then I researched the white people in the story and that often led to more insights. When I looked into Sir Edward Wynter's life, I found out how Edward Swarthye likely came to England – Wynter had sailed to the Caribbean with Francis Drake. With John Anthony, who was a sailor in Dover, I did more digging into the ship that he worked on, the Silver Falcon, and learned of her ill-fated voyage to Virginia.

> **"The evidence of Africans being paid wages, testifying in court and intermarrying all suggests a level of civic freedom"**

How and when did black Tudors first arrive in England?

Although an African man named Pero Alvarez from Portugal visited the court of Henry VII in the late-1480s John Blanke, the Tudor court trumpeter, was the earliest person I found living here for a significant period of time. Our first record of Blanke is from 1507 but he probably came with Catherine of Aragon in 1501. Around the same time, there were several Africans at the court of James IV of Scotland.

I identified that Africans arrived in Britain in three main ways. Some came from Southern Europe, like Blanke. There was a much higher black population in Spain, Portugal and to some extent Italy in this period, because those countries were already engaged in enslavement and contact with Africa and had colonies in the Americas. Africans came to England as a side effect of that, with royals like Catherine and Philip II of Spain; with English aristocrats or merchants who travelled in Europe; or with the Sephardic Jews who were expelled from Portugal and Spain. The second way was through direct trade with Africa. For example, Prince Dederi Jaquoah and those before him who came to England learnt English and then went back as traders and interpreters. The final way is through privateering, so when Francis Drake or other privateers captured Africans when they raided Spanish ports or captured Spanish or Portuguese ships

Image source: wiki/ Rhetorica Christiana via Getty Research

ABOVE A drawing from 1579 depicting 'the Great Chain of Being' that medieval Christians believed was decreed by God

BELOW Map of Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the world, 1581, by Nicola van Sype

© Getty Images

Sanctuary State

How Africans found freedom in Tudor England

It's frequently assumed that black people who lived in England prior to the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 must have been enslaved. However, among the numerous discoveries to come to light in Kaufmann's research for *Black Tudors* is the fact that there were no enslavement laws in Tudor England. This will come as surprise to many, especially considering that the future British Empire would become one of the major slave-trading nations of the transatlantic slave trade.

While Portugal, the Netherlands, France and, indeed, the English colonies in America all introduced law codes on slavery between the 15th and 17th centuries, Parliament never passed any legislation regarding the status of slaves in England. In fact, Pero Alvarez, an African slave who arrived in England from Portugal, was set free by King Henry VII himself.

As the concept of slavery was not recognised by English law, Africans who settled in England were deemed to be free. In his *Description Of England*, first published in 1577, English priest William Harrison wrote: "As for slaves and bondmen we have none... if any come hither from other realms, so soon as they set foot on land they become as free in condition as their masters."

Image source: wiki/University of Texas Libraries

Indeed, African men and women who lived in England were paid wages, baptised by the Church of England, allowed to intermarry and even testify in court, suggesting that not only were they free, but they were also accepted by English society.

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BELOW
A 1521 portrait of a young African woman, Katherina, by Albrecht Dürer

– the largest number in this period was the 135 Africans brought to Bristol in 1590 aboard the Charles.

In your book, you discuss how people were more likely to be judged on their religion and social class rather than the colour of their skin. Why was this?

We have to remember that this was a highly religious society and religious identity was central to the way people conceived of themselves. The English went through the Reformation in this period and were increasingly identifying as a Protestant nation. I argue that welcoming Africans into the Protestant faith through baptism is a key indicator of acceptance, they were seen as potential equals in the eyes of God. Meredith Hanmer preached a sermon in 1586 at St Paul's Cathedral on the baptism of a 'Turk' – he was thrilled that the heathen had become a Protestant and that the Spanish had failed to entice him to become a Catholic.

As for social class, there was this idea of 'the Great Chain of Being'; everybody had their place. The Moroccan ambassadors were received with diplomatic pomp; West African merchants were traded with as equals by English merchants; Francis Drake sees the Panama Maroons as military allies. If you were skilled like Francis the salvage diver, Reasonable Blackman the silk-weaver or John Blanke the musician, then you were respected and remunerated for your work.

Those who had been previously enslaved by the Spaniards and Portuguese and had arrived without a penny to their name were more likely to be treated – not necessarily worse than an impoverished white Englishman – but according to the perception of their social status, and they might end up working as a servant. I think people sometimes see black people in domestic service and assume it was akin to enslavement because now domestic service isn't really seen as a career path. Africans were paid wages, just like their white counterparts, which makes it clear they were not enslaved.

In Black Tudors, you include a quote from 1569 that states that England had "too pure an Air for Slaves to breath in". Did the belief that black labourers in England were 'free' during this period encourage them to move there?

I argue that the Africans were free in England not only because of the idea that setting foot on English soil conferred freedom, but also because there wasn't any legislation passed delineating enslavement in England in this period, compared to the codes in Portugal or later in France and English colonies like Virginia and Barbados. The evidence of Africans being paid wages, testifying in court and intermarrying all suggests a level of civic freedom. Across the Atlantic world, people were aware that Africans weren't enslaved in England and someone like Diego [a circumnavigator] might have heard that and taken the risk to get on Drake's ship rather than stay enslaved in Panama. However, the Africans who arrived in England in this period didn't always come here of their own volition so were not necessarily 'voting with their feet'.

Did African women have different experiences compared to African men in Tudor England?

The short answer is yes. Roughly half of the records I found were of women and the original draft of my book had five chapters on women. One was about Maria, who was abandoned on an island in Indonesia by Drake, but as she never actually came to England I couldn't justify a whole chapter on her, and instead told her story in the Diego chapter. There was another woman called Helen Jeronimo, who was described as a 'moor' but I couldn't be sure if she was of African origin or whether she was from the East Indies because she was the wife of an East India Company sailor. I ended

“ It’s assumed Africans were living lives of drudgery and pain and people don’t expect them to have skills like salvage diving or silk-weaving”

'Cutting edge...accessibly written and alive with human details and warmth' David Olusoga
BLACK TUDORS
THE UNTOLD STORY
MIRANDA KAUFMANN

Black Tudors: The Untold Story is out now from Oneworld Publications

Image source: wiki/ Royal Collection

up with chapters on Mary Fillis, Anne Cobbie and Cattelena of Almondsbury, who had an interesting range of experiences.

Fillis shows that you could develop a skill like being a seamstress that might allow you at least some level of financial independence, and Cattelena of Almondsbury is independent and able to make a small living for herself, with the help of her cow. In a way, I would rather not have included Cobbie because although there's a preconception that if there were African women in Tudor London then they were probably prostitutes, there's very little evidence of that. In fact, there's more evidence of African men visiting English sex workers than the other way around.

What preconceptions do we have today about black Tudors in England?

Well, the main preconceptions are that there weren't any, or if there were that they were enslaved and that there weren't many women. Often people know a bit more about the black presence in the 18th century and read stuff backwards, reaching false conclusions. It is assumed Africans were living lives of drudgery and pain and people don't expect them to have skills like salvage diving or silk-weaving. They might think of musicians because of the long-held association of Africans with music, and perhaps of Africans in royal or aristocratic households, partly because they might have seen portraits from a later period or other countries showing royals and aristocrats with black attendants. However, my research shows that a lot of black Tudors were working in much more humble households like that of a London beer brewer or a seamstress; or that in a few cases they were independent, living their own lives.

Your book focuses on ten black men and women from the Tudor and Stuart periods. Whose story fascinated or surprised you the most?

I think I was always most engaged with whoever I was writing about at the time. Diego's story is brilliant because it's an exciting global adventure, with the Maroon alliance and his untimely death from an arrow wound sustained off the coast of Chile. Swarthye's story is the most surprising: an African man whipping an Englishman. The testimony in which he describes the event was in very bad handwriting (of a court scribe, not Swarthye himself) and I couldn't make it out at first. The first word that I identified was 'whip' with a double 'p', and I assumed that the black man was being whipped by the white man, as was the case for so much of our later history. It was only when I deciphered the whole document that I realised it was the other way around. The fact that John Anthony, a free waged sailor, was bound for Virginia in 1619, the inaugural year of African American history, was a striking contrast to the experience of the 20 or so Africans who actually became the first to arrive in Jamestown that summer.

What do you hope readers will take away from Black Tudors?

It depends who the reader is! The first thing that I wanted to put across was simply that black Tudors were here. To give people a different perspective by showing that British history is a lot more diverse than they think and also raise questions, like was it inevitable that white people would enslave black people in our history? What changed in the 17th century that created all the pain and misery of enslavement and racism that followed afterwards? I want teachers to teach it in schools and I'm working with a group of secondary school teachers now on a project called #TeachingBlackTudors [mirandakaufmann.com/blog/teaching-black-tudors], creating black Tudors teaching resources with a major educational publisher. I want it in museums and I want to change the traditional narrative of British history. This is beginning to happen: Francis now features at the Mary Rose Museum in Portsmouth; Diego's story is now told at the National Maritime Museum and the National Trust's Buckland Abbey (Drake's former home near Plymouth), as part of the Colonial Countryside project [www2.le.ac.uk/departments/english/creativewriting/centre/colonial-countryside-project]. I would like the next generation of historians to build on my work, do some more digging and find out more. I hope it's a starting point that brings people to black British history and takes them on different journeys.

Salvaging the Mary Rose

How an African man became one of the first to see the wreck of the Mary Rose

There are many interesting stories to uncover in Kaufmann's book *Black Tudors*, but the tale of Jacques Francis is one of the most fascinating. Born in Guinea, West Africa, in the 1520s, it is likely that Francis would have been trained as a pearl diver and, in fact, many Africans were skilled free-divers. In comparison most Tudors, including sailors, couldn't even swim.

Although we don't know exactly how he ended up there, Francis found work as a salvage diver in Southampton, working for a Venetian salvage operator named Peter Paulo Corsi when he was around 18 years old.

In July 1545, the Mary Rose – one of the largest ships in the English Navy – sank in the Solent, a tragedy witnessed by King Henry VIII himself from Southsea Castle. The weapons aboard the ship were very expensive and after an initial attempt to raise the ship failed that August, Corsi was hired to recover the weaponry in 1547.

Francis, an expert swimmer and diver, was chosen to lead the team of eight divers. It's possible that two of the other team members were of African origin too, and together they succeeded in recovering some of the guns from the wreck.

Following another salvage operation in the Solent, Corsi was accused of theft by Italian merchants and the case was brought to the High Court of Admiralty. Most of what we know about Francis is thanks to the records from this case because he testified on his master's behalf, becoming the first African to give evidence in an English court of law.

© Getty Images

OPPOSITE Portrait of Anne of Denmark accompanied by an African attendant

BELOW John Blanke, pictured in the *Westminster Tournament Roll*, was a black trumpeter at the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII

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Pilots of the Caribbean

During World War II, a group of brave volunteers from Africa and the Caribbean joined the RAF to help defend Britain's skies

Written by Callum McKelvie

At the height of World War II several thousand volunteers from Africa and the Caribbean travelled across the world to train and fight during Britain's darkest hour. These individuals would participate as comrades in all three armed forces, as soldiers, sailors and members of the RAF. Yet despite the brave tales of heroism and derring-do, these volunteers are often ignored in military history. The stories of these RAF volunteers are some of the most fascinating and awe-inspiring of the entire war and yet we rarely see them discussed or portrayed in film and television. The organisation officially removed the so-called 'colour bar' in 1939, a rule that dictated that only white British men of European descent could join up. However, following the outbreak of war the policy was deemed outdated. The necessity for a continuous stream of skilled pilots and crew was more important than racial background, and the tragic losses during the Battle of Britain made that even more apparent. With the bar lifted, a group of eager volunteers were able to join and prove their ability in a variety of roles. The contributions of these African and Caribbean volunteers cannot be understated. Many went on to live extraordinary lives after

Further details regarding the RAF Museum can be found at bit.ly/RAFMuseumAAH. You can also adopt an artefact, with further details at bit.ly/RAFMuseumAdopt.

Portrait source: Wiki/ Imperial War Museum
Scene: © Getty Images

the war too, from being the president of Barbados to voicing a character in TV series *Captain Scarlet And The Mysterons*.

At the outbreak of war in 1939 roughly one-quarter of the world's population lived in Commonwealth nations or countries under the control of the British Empire. As such, each country was involved in some way with the war. "As in World War I, Britain's African colonies provided essential raw materials and foodstuffs, including iron ore from Sierra Leone and cocoa from Nigeria," explains Peter Devitt, curator of the RAF Museum at Hendon, London. "The Caribbean colonies offered natural resources such as aluminium ore from British Guiana (now Guyana) and oil, which was plentiful in Trinidad. Coffee, rum and bananas were also exported. While these essentials were being sent to the mother country, there were severe shortages in the West Indies and rationing was introduced." However, despite living under colonial control and subject to rationing, numerous individuals from these countries decided that they would take a more direct approach to the conflict. With the lifting of the colour bar, they travelled to Britain and volunteered.

Just how many volunteered might be the cause of some surprise. "Some 6,000 African-Caribbean volunteers joined the RAF and RCAF. It's safe to say 450 served as aircrew, and that 150 of these men were killed," reveals Devitt. In Africa the colonial authorities restricted enlistment and only 60 were able to join. However, 5,200 joined the West African Air Corps – an auxiliary force based in Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Ghana.

The question as to why there was a sudden influx of volunteers after the lifting of the colour bar is one which can seem puzzling. After all, none of these individuals were conscripted or forced to go. In choosing to join the RAF they were exposing themselves to the horrors of war and putting their lives in peril. "We just knew deep down inside that we were all in this together and that what was taking place around our world had to be stopped," explained volunteer navigator John Blair. "Few people think about what would have happened to them in Jamaica if Germany had defeated Britain, but we certainly could have returned to slavery." Ulric Cross, a Trinidadian rail worker, expressed a similar motivation behind joining up: '"The world was drowning in fascism so I decided to do something about it and volunteered to fight in the RAF."

Of the three armed forces, the RAF seems to have gained the respect of its volunteers far easier than the other services. Indeed, from contemporary sources it seems apparent that the higher echelons of the organisation took racism and discrimination against its members extremely seriously. A confidential memo from June of 1944 stated simply that: "All ranks should clearly understand that there is no colour bar in the Royal Air Force... any instance of discrimination on grounds of colour by white officers or airmen or any attitude of hostility towards personnel of non-European descent should be immediately and severely checked."

In Memory Of The Service Men And Women From Africa And The Caribbean Who Served Alongside The Forces Of The British Commonwealth And Her Allies During WWI And WWII

However, not all were welcoming towards the new volunteers. "Few white British people had met a black person before and most were ignorant about the volunteers and their homelands," explains Devitt.

"The world was drowning in fascism so I decided to do something about it and volunteered to fight in the RAF"

"This ignorance, combined with the prejudice and insensitivity of individuals, sometimes caused misunderstandings and conflict between the volunteers and their new hosts." Yet, as stated above, the RAF appeared to have a zero-tolerance policy regarding incidents of this nature and attempted to integrate the volunteers as much as possible. "The RAF sometimes managed to obtain Caribbean foodstuffs for the newcomers," Devitt continues. "Social and sports facilities were also made available and, in the cricket season, the inclusion of West Indian players helped break down barriers and made RAF teams difficult to beat." However, despite these attempts, an ingrained 'othering' towards the volunteers appeared to occur regularly. Navigator Cy Grant, from British Guiana, was standing outside an RAF building one day when a fellow officer approached and began chatting with him. After a while the officer expressed surprise that Grant's English was as good as his own, causing Grant to note that for the first time he felt his own "foreignness".

Grant was the subject of a particularly extraordinary series of circumstances when he was shot down over the Nazi-occupied Netherlands on 26 June 1943. Forced to bail out with the rest of the crew, they were captured and taken prisoner by a platoon of German soldiers. In a video interview with the Windrush Foundation, Grant recalled: "When I was shot down it caused a bit

TOP A photograph showing the position of a navigator/bomb-aimer in a Stirling Bomber. Both Errol Barrow and Cy Grant were navigators

ABOVE A Supermarine Spitfire – Caribbean volunteers such as Sam King worked on repairing and fixing such aircraft

LEFT The memorial to the members of African and Caribbean nations who served in WWI and WWII. It was unveiled in Brixton, London, in 2017

An RAF serviceman outside a hostel for the African and Caribbean community in London

© Getty Images

War Workers Hostels

Providing lodgings for African and Caribbean volunteers exposed differing attitudes to race

The African and Caribbean volunteers who travelled to Britain to assist with the war effort were, in most cases, without lodgings when they arrived. The Royal Navy housed its Caribbean seamen in segregated hostels and paid them only one-third of what was paid to their white European comrades. War Workers Hostels were set up by the authorities to concentrate African and Caribbean volunteers where health services and other necessities could be provided. Unfortunately, this policy was also partially due to the fact that following America's entry into the war the British government complied with the segregationist policies of its ally. Although this only occurred where American troops were involved, it led to the creation of separate lodgings.

Image source: wiki/ Imperial War Museum

of a stir, I don't think there were many black airmen in those days and there certainly weren't many black officers. I was in solitary confinement for a while, for five days. I was pulled out into the bright sunshine and a photograph was taken of me – I don't know for what purpose." For most of the war, Grant spent his time in what he described as relative luxury, with access to music and entertainment. However in 1945, as the conflict came to a close, he and his fellow prisoners were taken to a much larger holding camp. With very little food and warmth, conditions were dire. One night, Grant was sent with a selection of other prisoners to forage for food and had to attempt to catch a herd of cows. He and his fellow POWs were finally liberated when six tanks and 29 Russian mobilised units came crashing through the outer perimeter fence. Grant remembered the moment vividly: "We crowded around their tanks, cheering in joy, taken aback by the magnitude of the moment – feeling the barbarism of war oozing from their bodies, their eyes, their entire demeanour. Free at last! Some Russian prisoners who were strong enough clambered aboard the tanks and were soon heading towards Berlin."

A more tragic story involved Warrant Officer Thomas William Johnson. "In October 2018 a journalist told me that a set of medals awarded to a black wartime air gunner was to be auctioned and kindly sent me the details," says Devitt. "The airman in question was Warrant Officer Thomas William Johnson, the only son of Mr and Mrs Thomas W Johnson of Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool. Warrant Officer Johnson had never discussed why he received the Distinguished Flying Medal, and he'd left a letter for his mother telling her not to mourn if he failed to return. I did a little digging and found the citation for his award: 'As rear

gunner, [this NCO] has inspired the most complete confidence in his crew. His vigilance and calmness on many occasions when followed by enemy night fighters have enabled his Captain to take the necessary action to avoid attack. His keenness and the thoroughness he has put into all his work have set a very high example to the Squadron. He is strongly recommended for the award of the Distinguished Flying Medal'."

Johnson was only 18 when he joined the RAF, after the Merseyside Blitz in which some 4,000 people were killed. He himself would die aged 22 in a flying accident on 2 January 1945. Yet his brave and powerful story continues to resonate. "By strange coincidence, I was to talk about the RAF's black personnel to Home Office staff in Liverpool on 3 January 2018," says Devitt. "I incorporated the story of Warrant Officer Johnson into the paper I read and it was received with a mixture of sadness and pride by the people who heard it."

Those who volunteered were not just pilots or aircrew, and the majority served as ground crew or staff. One such individual was Sam King, who passed away in 2017. Training as an engine fitter at RAF Locking, he worked repairing Spitfires throughout the war. This was vital work: aircraft were in short supply and it was integral that those that could be repaired were fixed swiftly and efficiently. Following this he would return briefly to the Caribbean before rejoining the RAF, arriving aboard the MV Empire Windrush in 1948. After a few more years in service, King then left the RAF and became active in civilian life, helping establish 'pardner' saving schemes in South London. These collective saving schemes helped Caribbean families and community groups save to buy their own houses. Later, he would become the first black mayor of Southwark.

It was not just men who volunteered, either. One such example was Lilian Bader, who joined as a member of the WAAF (Women's Auxiliary Air Force). Born in Britain and believed to be of either Jamaican or Barbadian heritage, she was the first black woman to serve in the British armed forces. "With the outbreak of war she had worked briefly in a Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes (NAAFI) canteen," explains Devitt, "but was told to leave because she was black." As a member of the WAAF Bader chose to train as an instrument repairer. She was one of the first women to train in such a crucial job and after passing her course excelled in her role, eventually being promoted to acting corporal. Musing on her family's contribution to the British military, Bader stated: "Father served in the First World War, his three children served in the Second World War. I married a coloured man who was in the Second World War... as was his brother, who was decorated for bravery in Burma. Their father also served in the First World War. Our son was a helicopter pilot, he served in Northern Ireland. So, all in all, I think we have given back more to this country than we have received."

Even those who could not volunteer and remained home in the colonies such as Jamaica were committed to assisting the war effort in some way. "Just after Dunkirk, in 1940, the *Jamaica Gleaner* newspaper sent a telegram to Lord Beaverbrook, the new minister of aircraft production, asking him how much a bomber cost," Devitt reveals. "A notional figure was given, and a cheque for the amount duly appeared shortly afterwards. Jamaican people, some of the most impoverished in the British Empire, (witness the findings of the Moyne Commission in 1945) paid for the aircraft and later paid for all of the bombers of 139 Squadron, which took the name 'Jamaica' from that point. Ulric Cross from Trinidad later served with the squadron." Following this, so-called 'Spitfire Funds' gripped the UK as people flocked to contribute to the war effort in any way they could.

Yet, following the defeat of Germany and the end of the war, many people began to make it clear that these volunteers were no longer welcome. Speaking later, one Caribbean airman remembered an incident that had happened to him: "After I was demobbed in Nottingham a padre said to me: 'When are you

BELOW West Indian volunteers pictured during training and inspection in 1944

"Jamaican people, some of the most impoverished in the British Empire, paid for all the bombers of 139 Squadron"

3x Image source: wiki/ Imperial War Museum

Cy Grant, alias Lieutenant Green

The RAF hero who continued breaking down barriers after the war

After WWII many of the volunteers lived varied and exciting lives, perhaps none more so than RAF navigator Cy Grant, who was born in British Guiana (now Guyana). Despite qualifying as a barrister, he became a singer and actor and during the 1950s regularly appeared on the *Tonight* programme singing the news to a calypso beat. It was as a result of this that *Thunderbirds* creator Gerry Anderson cast Grant as the first regular black character in one of his productions, as Lieutenant Green in *Captain Scarlet And The Mysterons*. Green was a member of secret organisation SPECTRUM alongside the title character. Far darker than Anderson's previous series, a conscious effort appears to have been made to broaden the ethnicity of the show's characters, with Grant seemingly Anderson's only choice for the role. Grant would later go on to appear in other TV series such as *Blake's 7* and *Metal Mickey*, and films including *At The Earth's Core* and *Shaft In Africa*. Grant also had a successful career as a musician, authored several books and biographies, and was a keen activist. He passed away in 2010.

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going home?' I was shocked. If a padre could say that, what must everyone else be thinking?" A Jamaican telephone operator expressed the situation in earnest: "'It was as if it was okay to be over here while there was an emergency, but in 1945 we weren't wanted anymore."

Despite the actions and attitudes of some British citizens, for those who volunteered with the RAF during the war it remained a matter of extreme pride. Indeed one volunteer, Errol Barrow, would lead a distinguished political career directly following the war. An incredibly skilled navigator, he served as personal navigator to Marshal Sir William Sholto Douglas, the man who would become commander in chief for the British air forces over occupied Germany. Following the war Barrow returned to Barbados and in 1955 formed the Democratic Labour Party, whose main aims were to press for social reform and an end to British colonial rule. He was made prime minister in 1961 and a mere five years later oversaw the granting of independence. He also worked to make Barbados an island with greater self-reliance, building tourism, industry and commerce. As a result he lessened dependency on the United States and instead created stronger ties with other English-speaking Caribbean nations. He served until 1976, returning to office again in 1986 but sadly passed away a year later. Yet despite all these achievements, his gravestone reads: 'In memory of Flying Officer Errol Walton Barrow, Navigator, Royal Air Force, World War Two and Prime Minister of Barbados'. Despite talking little about his contribution to the war and leaving no memoirs covering the period 1940-1947, Barrow was evidently proud of his time as a navigator. His son, David Barrow, stated that his father had proudly kept his RAF sextant after the war.

Now, the legacy of these incredibly brave men and women is being celebrated and rediscovered by an entirely new generation. The RAF Museum has an exhibition celebrating the many contributions of the black African and Caribbean volunteers to the war effort. "For many members of the African diaspora, the history of the RAF had previously been a closed-off area of white endeavour and achievement that was irrelevant to their lives," explains Devitt. "Thankfully, this is no longer the case and we have witnessed large numbers of visitors, both black and white, engaging with a story that embraces heroism, comradeship, glamour and success. The exhibition has made a lot of people proud and happy and it has provided valuable role models for younger people."

© Getty Images

LEFT C Pakeman of Jamaica interviewed on the passing out parade for West Indian volunteers

BELOW-LEFT AO Weekes of Barbados (left) and Flight Sergeant CA Joseph of San Fernando, both members of the Bombay Squadron

BELOW Cy Grant, who was taken prisoner after being shot down in 1943

BRITAIN'S BLOODIEST EVER MUTINY

The story of a British frigate, her crew's bloodthirsty uprising and the Royal Navy's revenge

Interview by Callum McKelvie

Image source: wiki/Royal Museums Greenwich

Britain's Bloodiest Ever Mutiny

Image source: wiki/Royal Museums Greenwich

ABOVE A print showing the recapture of the HMS Hermione by the Surprise in July 1758

EXPERT BIO

Author and historian Angus Konstam is a former naval officer and museum curator. He has written several books on piracy, including *The History Of Pirates* and *Blackbeard: America's Most Notorious Pirate*.

© Davey Buey Photo

Stories of the sea continue to fascinate young and old alike. From tales of sinister pirates to epic naval battles, there's few who don't enjoy a good old-fashioned nautical romp. One particular event however, which took place on the HMS Hermione in 1782, still shocks, first due to it's sheer brutality and secondly due to the daring rescue mission. Now author Angus Konstam, who specialises in pirates and tales of hijinks on the sea, has decided to retell this grand old story in his new book *Mutiny On The Spanish Main*.

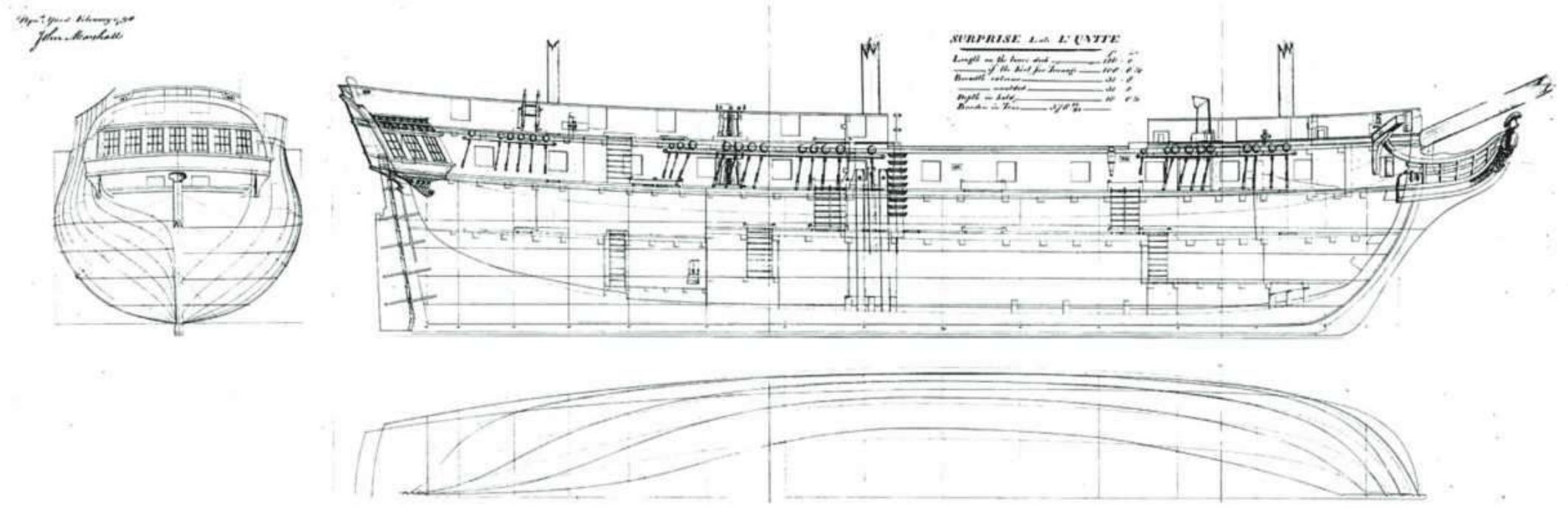
Why did the crew of the HMS Hermione mutiny?

The frigate HMS Hermione had been sent out to the Caribbean at the start of the war against France and was there for three years before Captain Pigot came on board. He'd been the commander of a frigate called the Success but he had a penchant for flogging his crew. The Hermione's crew were happy because they'd got rid of their previous captain, Captain Wilkinson, who had a cruel reputation, but little did they know that his replacement was going to be much, much worse. Captain Pigot began by bringing from his old ship a number of officers who were really his favourites, these were all given loads of money and were allowed ashore but the rest weren't. Pigot was also excessively beating his crew but two incidents in particular were really the catalyst for the whole mutiny. First a midshipman, a junior officer, was flogged in front of the crew for answering back to the captain. You don't flog an officer, it's not done and it was seen as a huge outrage. Less than a week later the ship was in a squall in between what's now Dominica on one side and Puerto Rico on the other. The captain was yelling at the crew that they weren't taking the sails in fast enough to stop them being ripped by the storm. As a result he threatened that he would flog the last man down. This started a panic, causing three men to fall to their deaths. Showing no respect, the captain ordered the bodies to be thrown over the side and the crew were horrified at this.

What happened during the mutiny itself?

A couple of days after the bodies were thrown overboard, the crew finally decided to act. One evening some of them broke into the spirits store, got drunk on rum and stole weapons. Shortly after, the marine sentry guarding the captain's cabin was knocked unconscious and the mob cut through the door with axes. Captain Pigot grabbed a small dagger, slashed at his attackers once and was then stabbed repeatedly. Meanwhile a number of the crew got in a fight with the head officer, stabbing him and throwing his body overboard. Back in the captain's cabin, Pigot was dragging himself to his feet when a chap called David Forester, a teenager, delivered the fatal blow. The whole thing took no more than about eight minutes. Now the crew had to establish control and during the first hour no less than 10 of the officers were stabbed and thrown over the side of the ship. It was a pretty horrific evening!

"During the first hour, no less than 10 of the officers were stabbed and thrown over the side of the ship"



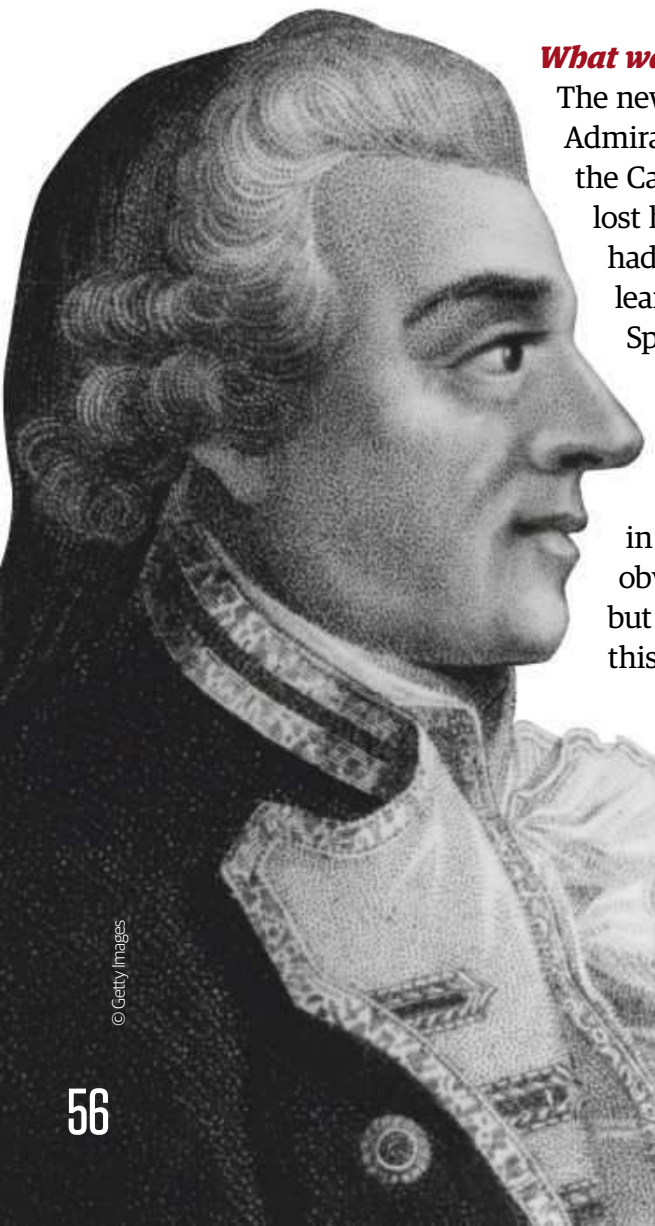
ABOVE
Contemporary plans for the HMS Surprise, itself originally the French corvette L'Unite

BELOW Vice-Admiral Parker was determined to find the mutineers – and his ship

BELOW-RIGHT
A modern-day replica of the HMS Surprise, which was used in the film *Master And Commander: The Far Side Of The World*

After the mutiny, how did HMS Hermione then become the Spanish San Cecilia?

The decision was made by the crew to sail the ship to a Spanish port and hand her over. Remember this is a frigate, a 32-gun frigate, a useful addition to a naval arsenal. So now they're not only guilty of mutiny but of treason as well. They approached Venezuela, which was partly a Spanish naval base, and went in under white flags. The mutineers appointed an experienced seaman called William Turner to negotiate with the captain general of the province of Caracas, Don Pedro Carbonell. However, Carbonell was not keen on mutiny and wanted to take the surviving officers away from the mutineers and also safeguard any of the loyal crew. They were put under lock and key and the mutineers were given food and rum and allowed to go. Over the next couple of months the Spanish moved the Hermione up the coast to another smaller port called Puerto Cabello, where they had shipbuilding facilities to turn her into the Santa Cecilia. They hoisted the Spanish flag and she was now officially a Spanish warship.



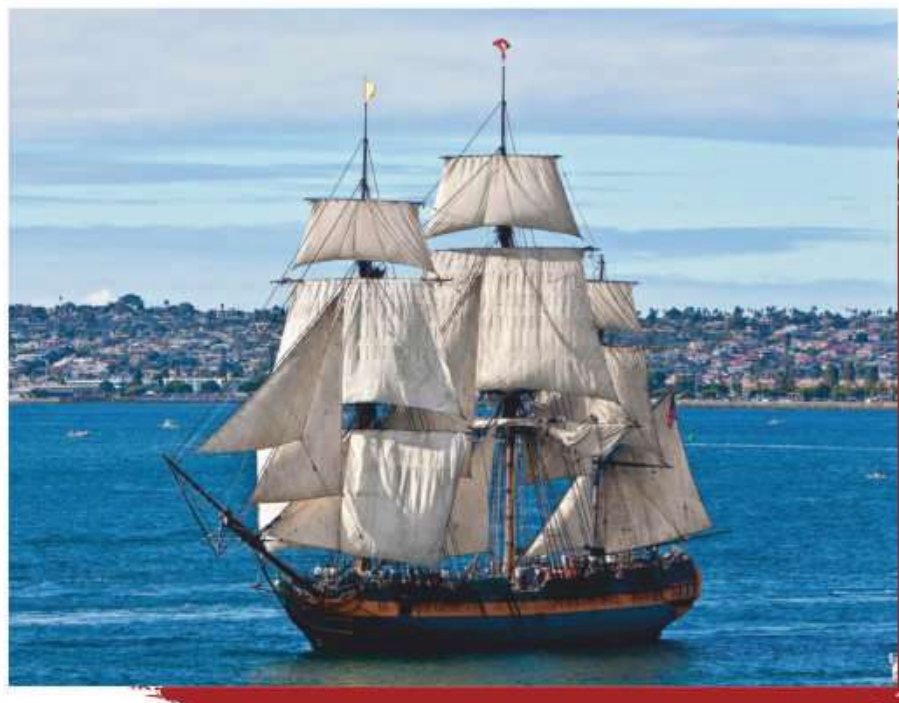
What was the effect of the mutiny in Britain?

The news of the mutiny was brought first to Vice-Admiral Parker, who commanded the Navy's forces in the Caribbean. Parker was shocked, obviously, that he'd lost his ship but he still didn't know exactly what had happened. It was only a few days later that they learned that the Hermione had been taken to a Spanish port in Venezuela and that the crew had indeed mutinied. A statement was issued by the Admiralty in December 1797, but of course it was partially embellished in the British press. After all, this was the bloodiest mutiny in the Navy's long history. The British public were obviously enraged because they expected nothing but victories from their ships and men. Following this both the press and politicians demanded that every effort be made to hunt down and hang the mutineers. So the Admiralty launched an international manhunt. However, at the back of their mind was also the second thing they really wanted – their frigate back.

Who was Captain Hamilton and why was he selected for the task of tracking down the ship?

"It's a classic tale of the sea. It's got mutiny, betrayal, murder, dashing cutting expeditions, sadistic captains"

Vice-Admiral Parker, in mid-September of 1799, called in Captain Edward Hamilton. Hamilton commanded a small 28-gun frigate called the HMS Surprise, much less well-armed than the Hermione but she had been really useful in previous cutting out operations [taking an enemy ship at anchor]. Hamilton was chosen because, firstly, he was available but he was also a good seaman, and he was popular. In the past year or so he had captured numerous prizes and was probably one of the most competent frigate captains. He was given intelligence reports that the Santa Cecilia, formerly Hermione, was now going to sail to Santo Domingo, the Spanish port. To get there, it had to pass the island of Aruba just off the South American mainland. So Hamilton was sent to patrol there and attack when the opportunity arose. Now, this was a tall order because his ship the Surprise was a good deal smaller than the Santa Cecilia. He was a brave man to be willing to do that. However, after a week or so the Santa Cecilia never turned up, so at that point Hamilton decided to go down to Puerto Cabello and cut her out himself.



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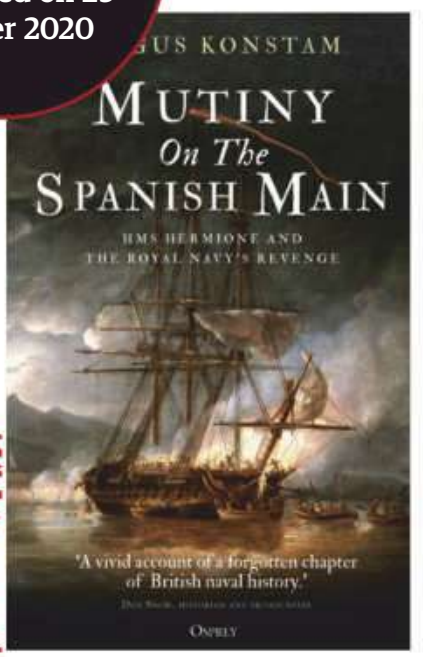
Britain's Bloodiest Ever Mutiny

3x © Alamy

Mutiny On The Spanish Main by Angus Konstam is released on 29 October 2020



ABOVE Painting portraying the 'cutting out' of the Hermione by the HMS Surprise

RIGHT Captain Edward Hamilton led the mission to recover HMS Hermione
Image source: wiki/ The National Maritime Museum

What happened during the cutting out of the Ship?

The attack was extremely well planned and coordinated. The Surprise would lie just off the coast and all six of her ship's boats, crewed by 100 officers and men, would enter the port and carry out the attack. Three boats would attack the frigate's port side, and three on the starboard side. The boarders would then swarm aboard, take control of the upper deck, cut the anchor cables and head out to sea. The attack began late in the evening of Thursday 24 October 1799. But the British boats were spotted by the Spanish before they could reach the frigate, and so they had no choice but to row like hell and board anyway. However, not understanding the nature of the attack, the Santa Cecilia responded to the alarm by firing her starboard guns, thinking a British ship had entered the harbour. Hamilton was leading the attack and was first to board the frigate. Most of the Santa Cecilia's crew were still below decks firing broadsides at an imaginary enemy, and didn't have a clue what was really happening. Hamilton and his men knocked out a couple of sentries and then moved aft to capture the wheel. At this point only 34 British sailors and marines had reached the ship, so they were outnumbered ten to one. Then, though, as more British attackers arrived they were able to contain the Spanish below on the gun deck. Once the Santa Cecilia began to head out of harbour, the Spanish guns turned on them, the gunners having finally realised what was going on. The frigate was hit below the waterline, but they were able to get a pump going and steer her out of the harbour. At that point the fight began to go out of the Spanish hemmed in below deck. After two hours of fighting, Hamilton and his boarding party managed to successfully rendezvous with the Surprise.

What happened to the mutineers and the Hermione?

After the mutiny the Navy never really let up on hunting down the mutineers. Most were not going to be found: they had taken jobs in Spanish colonies or fled to the United States. One of the most notorious – the assistant to the ship's surgeon – settled down as a doctor in Caracas. The last mutineer to be caught was in 1806, so the hunt continued for a long period. There were 33 in all and 24 were hanged. As for the Hermione, originally she was renamed by Parker as 'Retaliation'. However, the Admiralty wanted something a little more viscous and so chose 'Retribution' instead – the name aimed squarely at the mutineers.

How did you approach the story in writing the book?

In the 1980s I was working with the Royal Armouries in the Tower of London. We did a lot of work with the National Maritime Museum and one day, on a visit there, I saw this painting entitled *The Cutting Out Of HMS Hermione*. I knew nothing about it except it was painted by the celebrated artist Nicholas Pocock, who usually painted big patriotic celebrations of British victories. I couldn't understand why he was suddenly celebrating what appeared to be an attack on a British ship. So I asked two curator friends of mine and they told me the story. Over the years I specialised in maritime history, and kept delving back into the story, uncovering more about both the diplomatic and manhunt aspects of it which hadn't been fully covered before. It's a classic tale of the sea. It's got mutiny, betrayal, murder, dashing cutting expeditions and sadistic captains! It's a great story but it isn't widely known about. Over about ten years or so it all coalesced into a coherent story, and so I decided to try to retell it, incorporating all this new information while also giving it – I hope – a new vibrancy.

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HATSHEPSUT

THE QUEEN WHO BECAME KING

After decades of stability, Egypt once again found itself in crisis when one woman decided to shatter the status quo

Words by Alicea Francis

Some of the most powerful individuals of the ancient world, the pharaohs of Egypt, were believed to have inherited the throne by divine right and were worshipped as gods on Earth. Huge temples were built in their honour, statues were carved in their image and pyramids were built in their memory to ensure their everlasting legacy. However, in what may be one of history's biggest cover-up operations, one of its greatest rulers has been all but lost to the desert. And the reason behind this monarch's reign being erased from history might seem pretty trivial to us now: this pharaoh was a woman.

In the 16th century BCE, Egypt was experiencing a time of great stability. Founded by Ahmose I in 1543 BCE, the 18th Dynasty marked the start of an era when the empire reached the peak of its power. Once Ahmose had expelled the Hyksos settlers from Lower Egypt and brought the Nile Delta under his control, the nation was politically unified for the first time in more than 500 years. Ahmose reorganised the country's administration and undertook numerous huge construction projects, which were continued when his successor, Amenhotep I, took the throne in 1526 BCE. It was a time of enormous strength and stability.

> Hatshepsut was the longest reigning female pharaoh of Egyptian descent, with a rule spanning around 22 years

Then came the reign of Thutmose I from 1506-1493 BCE, who extended the empire's borders further than ever before. When he died, the throne was passed to his son, Thutmose II, who was born to him by one of his minor wives. To secure his kingship, Thutmose II was married to his half-sister, the daughter of Thutmose I. She was of fully royal blood and declared his chief wife. Her name was Hatshepsut.

Even at the tender age of 12, Hatshepsut already held a great deal of influence in the royal court. It is likely that Thutmose II was even younger than her, so his wife took the reins when it came to making decisions on both foreign and domestic policy. Her husband was physically frail too, as his thin and scab-riddled mummy would reveal, and he ruled for no longer than 13 years before dying in his twenties. Hatshepsut had given so much during his short reign, but she had been unable provide Thutmose with the one thing he would need to continue his dynasty: a male heir.

Instead, the throne was passed to a son by a woman of his harem. The boy – also called Thutmose – was no more than a toddler, so he needed a regent who could handle the affairs of government until he was old enough to do so himself. As tradition dictated, the job fell to the widowed queen – his stepmother and aunt.

For a while, the regency played out like any other that had previously been witnessed in the ancient kingdom. Monuments and reliefs from the time depict a boyish Thutmose III performing his pharaonic duties with Hatshepsut by his side. However, by the seventh year of his reign, and possibly much sooner, something shocking happened that would utterly destroy the stability that the pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty had

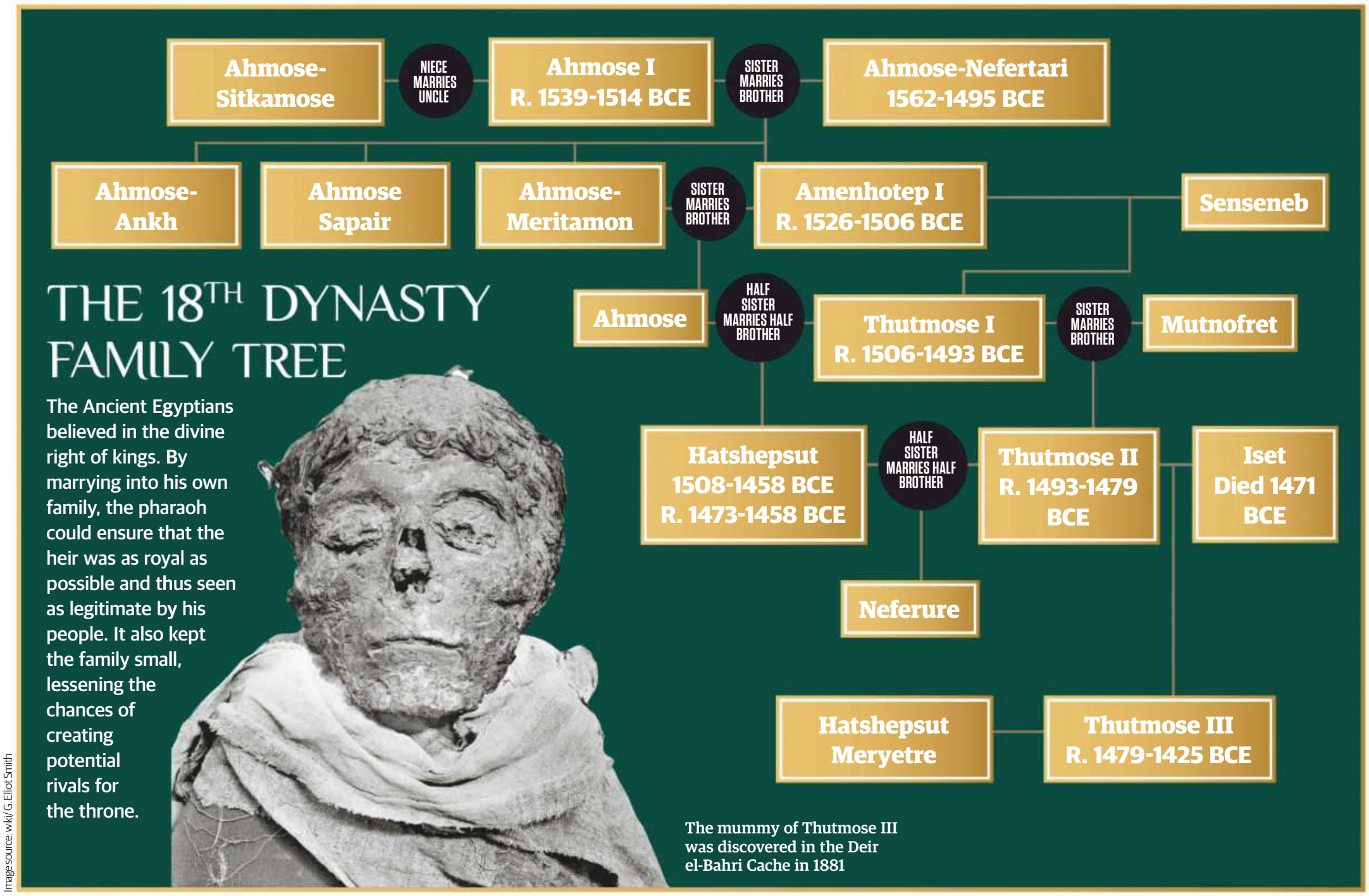
Ahmose-Sitkamose
NIECE MARRIES UNCLE
Ahmose I R. 1539-1514 BCE
SISTER MARRIES BROTHER
Ahmose-Nefertari 1562-1495 BCE
Ahmose-Ankh
Ahmose Sapair
Ahmose-Meritamon
SISTER MARRIES BROTHER
Amenhotep I R. 1526-1506 BCE
Senseneb
THE 18TH DYNASTY FAMILY TREE
The Ancient Egyptians believed in the divine right of kings. By marrying into his own family, the pharaoh could ensure that the heir was as royal as possible and thus seen as legitimate by his people. It also kept the family small, lessening the chances of creating potential rivals for the throne.
Ahmose
HALF SISTER MARRIES HALF BROTHER
Thutmose I R. 1506-1493 BCE
SISTER MARRIES BROTHER
Mutnofret
Hatshepsut 1508-1458 BCE R. 1473-1458 BCE
HALF SISTER MARRIES HALF BROTHER
Thutmose II R. 1493-1479 BCE
Iset Died 1471 BCE
Neferure
Hatshepsut Meryetre
Thutmose III R. 1479-1425 BCE

Image source: wiki/ G. Elliot Smith

The mummy of Thutmose III was discovered in the Deir el-Bahri Cache in 1881

Image source: wiki/ Steve F-E-Cameron

ABOVE Statues of Hatshepsut at the Temple of Hatshepsut show the queen donning the traditional false beard

worked so hard to create. Hatshepsut, the female regent, took the throne as king.

The transition can be plotted through subtle changes in the reliefs and inscriptions of the time. A few years after Thutmose's ascension, they began depicting Hatshepsut carrying out tasks that were more commonly reserved for the pharaoh, such as making offerings to the gods and ordering up obelisks. Then she changed her title from 'King's Wife' to 'God's Wife of Amun' and took on a new name, Maatkare (from ma'at, meaning order and justice as established by the gods). In doing so, she was reinforcing the idea that the throne was hers by divine right. Only she was descended directly from royal blood, therefore only she could maintain the country's prosperity and stability.

However, there was still the small problem of her gender. Ancient Egyptian religion dictated that the throne could only be passed from father to son, as women were not believed to be capable of carrying out a king's duties. To legitimise her rule, Hatshepsut would have to assume male traits. Reliefs began depicting her wearing the striped nemes headdress and uraeus cobra, symbols of a king. Others depict her wearing a woman's ankle-length gown but standing in a striding pose, the same that male figures of the time were painted in. Similarly, inscriptions conveyed both the male and female elements of the new pharaoh, incorporating feminine word endings that led to such grammatical conundrums as 'His Majesty, Herself'. As the years went on, it seems she discarded her femininity entirely and was depicted with a broad, bare chest and wearing the pharaoh's false beard.

What inspired Hatshepsut to do the impossible and crown herself pharaoh? Some say it was pure lust for power, while others argue that threats from a competing branch of the royal family forced her onto the throne in order to ensure her stepson's succession. But what is certainly true is that during her reign, Thutmose III was not kept under house arrest but was instead sent to the army to learn how to become good soldier, and therefore a good king. That it was Hatshepsut's intention to overthrow Thutmose and

Image source: wiki/ Postdlf

possibly make her daughter, Neferure, her successor is an unlikely scenario, but should not be ruled out entirely.

Whatever the motive, Hatshepsut threw herself into the role, determined to prove herself just as a good pharaoh by virtue of her royal bloodline. She set about restoring trade routes that had been disrupted during the Hyksos occupation, dramatically increasing the wealth of the 18th Dynasty. One of these routes was to the Land of Punt, a kingdom somewhere on the Red Sea coast that has developed an almost mythological status. Five ships set out in her name, bringing back frankincense, myrrh and ebony, among other valuable goods. She also sent raiding expeditions to Byblos and Sinai. Her foreign policy is generally regarded as having been peaceful, although it's possible that she led military campaigns against Nubia and Canaan.

> It's not known exactly how many female pharaohs ruled Egypt, but most scholars accept that there were at least seven

But it's through her building projects that Hatshepsut has left her biggest mark. Arguably one of the most prolific builders in Ancient Egypt, her commissions were grander and more numerous than any of her Middle Kingdom predecessors. She employed the great architect Ineni to construct monuments at the Temple of Karnak, as was tradition for pharaohs, as well as to restore sections that had been ravaged by foreign rulers. She erected twin obelisks at the entrance of the temple; at the time they were the tallest in the world at almost 100 feet. Reliefs commemorating the event show the obelisks being towed down the River Nile by 27 ships powered by 850 oarsmen. It would have been a monumental occasion. She was also responsible for carrying out a vast public works programme across the empire, including the creation of a network of processional roadways and sanctuaries.

Hatshepsut's masterpiece, however, was her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. Built on the West Bank of the River Nile, near to the entrance to what is now called the Valley of the Kings, the female pharaoh kick-started a new era of royal burial at this iconic location. Its focal point was the Djeser-Djeseru, a colonnaded structure that was built into the cliff face and surrounded by gardens. It was designed by Senenmut, an architect and government official who was also the tutor of Hatshepsut's daughter.

BELOW A relief showing Queen Hatshepsut burning incense to honour a god

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THE SEARCH FOR HATSHEPSUT'S MUMMY

After being lost to the desert for three millennia, a tiny piece of evidence revealed the truth to her whereabouts

Upon her death, the she-king was buried in tomb KV20 in the Valley of the Kings, alongside her father Thutmose I. However, when renowned Egyptologist Howard Carter excavated the tomb in 1903, he found nothing but a sarcophagus bearing her name; Hatshepsut's mummy was nowhere to be seen.

In 2007, a fresh search was launched by the former Minister of State for Antiquities Affairs Zahi Hawass to find the missing pharaoh. A number of unidentified female mummies from the 18th Dynasty were lined up and examined using the latest technology. One of the prime suspects was a mummy from tomb KV60, just in front of tomb KV20, where two women had been found. One could be identified as Hatshepsut's wet nurse thanks to the inscription on her coffin, the other an obese lady who had been found on the floor next to her.

Egyptologists had previously suggested that the mummy could be a royal one due to the positioning of the left arm across its chest, but only now did they have the technology to find out once and for all whether it belonged to Hatshepsut. The team performed CT scans of mummies known to be closely related to her, including the three Thutmoses, to try to create a composite image of the 18th Dynasty facial structure and compare it with the mummies in contention. While doing so, they also decided to scan other objects from the tombs, including a sealed wooden box bearing her cartouche. What this scan revealed proved to be the key to the mystery. In it, along with Hatshepsut's mummified liver, was a single tooth. Not only was the obese mummy from KV60 missing a tooth, it was also an exact match for the loose one found in the box. Hatshepsut had finally been found.

© Getty Images

FIVE GREATEST BUILDING PROJECTS

Hatshepsut's commissions were so grand that after her death many pharaohs tried to claim them as their own

RED CHAPEL

Hatshepsut made several contributions to the Temple of Karnak, but this was one of her largest. It was built to be a barque shrine, where a model ship was kept. The Ancient Egyptians believed these were used by the sun god to travel through the night, and to transport the dead to the afterlife. The shrine was made of red quartzite and black diorite.

Image source: wiki/ Jon Bodsworth

TWIN OBELISKS

These were erected at the entrance of Karnak and at the time they were built were the tallest structures in the world. One still stands, at 97 feet tall, and weighs approximately 320 tons. An inscription at its base says that it took seven months to cut the monolith out of the quarry.

Image source: wiki/ Luna92

TEMPLE OF PAKHET

This was a cavernous underground shrine dedicated to the lioness goddess of war. Cut out of the rock into the cliffs east of the Nile, the temple is composed of two chambers with a connecting passageway. A huge number of mummified cats were found here, some having been brought great distances to be buried ceremonially.

Image source: wiki/ Einsamer Schütze

MORTUARY TEMPLE

By far Hatshepsut's greatest building achievement, her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri consists of three layered terraces reaching 97 feet tall. Each is supported by columns and connected by long ramps that were once surrounded by gardens. It is considered the closest that Egypt came to classical architecture.

Image source: wiki/ Andrea Piroddi

PRECINCT OF MUT

One of the four main temple enclosures that make up the immense Karnak Temple Complex, the Precinct of Mut consists of a spring-fed sacred lake and a temple dedicated to the mother goddess. Pharaoh Hatshepsut restored it after it was badly damaged during the Hyksos occupation.

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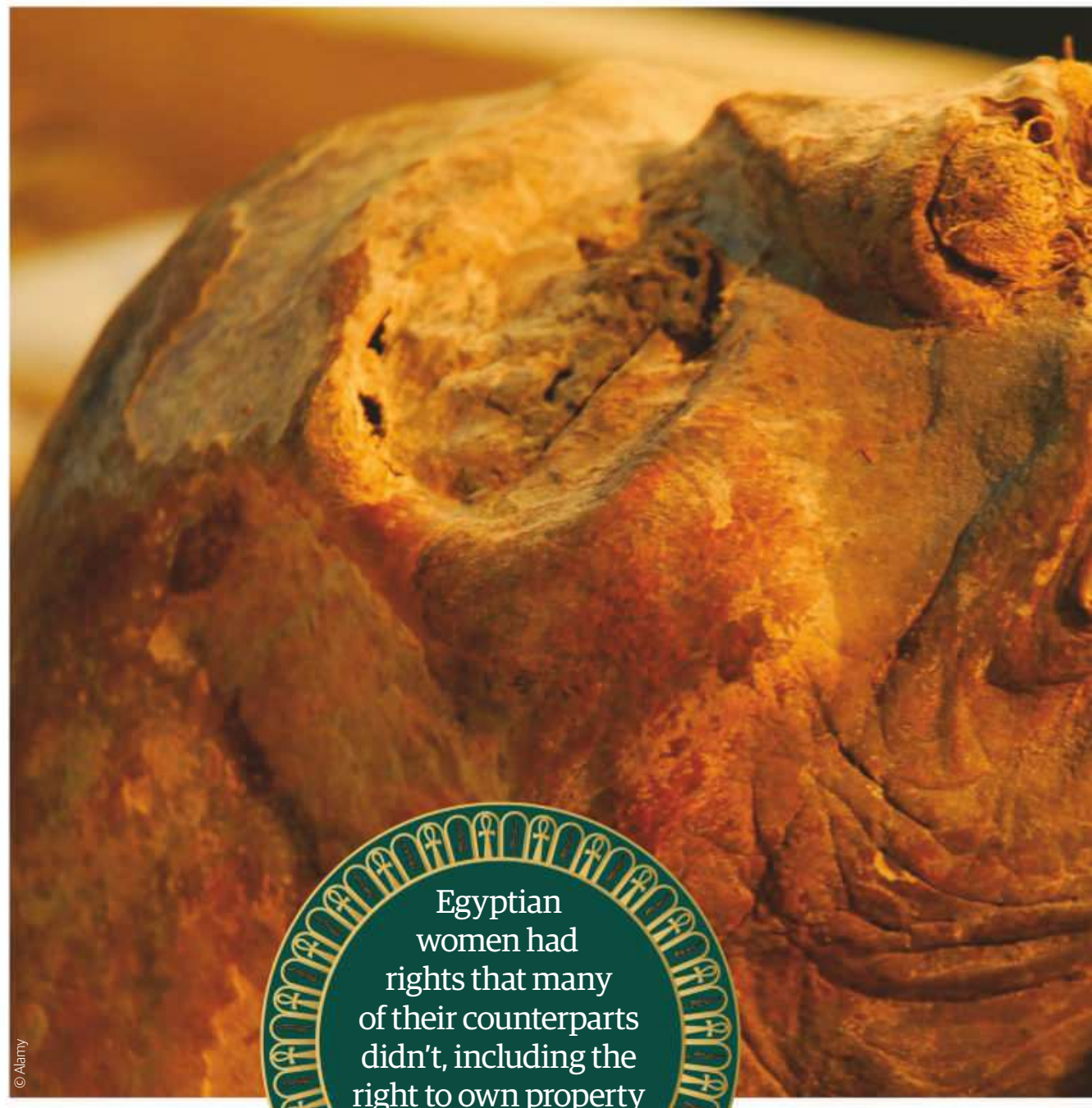

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Egyptian women had rights that many of their counterparts didn't, including the right to own property and demand divorce

A man of low birth, Senenmut's story is a fascinating one. His name first entered the historical record on a national level as the 'Steward of the God's Wife' when Hatshepsut was still regent, although after she was crowned pharaoh, he was given more prestigious titles – 93 in total – and became the 'Great steward of Amun', which put him in charge of all of Karnak's building and business activities.

It is without a doubt that this man held significant influence in the royal court. Some historians have attributed Hatshepsut's success to him, describing him as the real force behind her rule. Others believe he may have played a far more intimate role in the pharaoh's life than this. She allowed him to place his name and an image of himself behind one of the main doors in Djeser-Djeseru, and on the walls of his tomb he is described as one who "gladdened daily the king's heart", "served in the palace of her heart", and even "saw to all the pleasures of the king". Some graffiti that was found in an unfinished tomb used as a rest house by the workers of Djeser-Djeseru depicts a male and a hermaphrodite in pharaonic regalia engaging in an explicit act. This artwork is considered further proof that the pair were engaged in a sexual relationship. Beyond this, there is little to suggest that business ever became pleasure between the pharaoh and her architect. If it had, their relationship would have been unprecedented as, despite Senenmut's numerous titles, he was still a commoner.

Senenmut went to the grave unmarried, and Hatshepsut followed shortly after in 1458 BCE after 22 years on the throne. She died in her mid-40s, possibly as a result of an infected tooth, or she may even have been poisoned by an ointment used to treat the chronic skin condition that she and her late husband had inherited from their forefathers. In a final attempt to legitimise her reign, she requested that her father, the beloved Thutmose I, be moved to her tomb so that they could rest together.

Her stepson Thutmose III went on to rule for a further 30 years, proving to be a similarly ambitious builder and a mighty warrior. He led 17 campaigns in enemy-

Image source: wiki/ Daniel Fafard

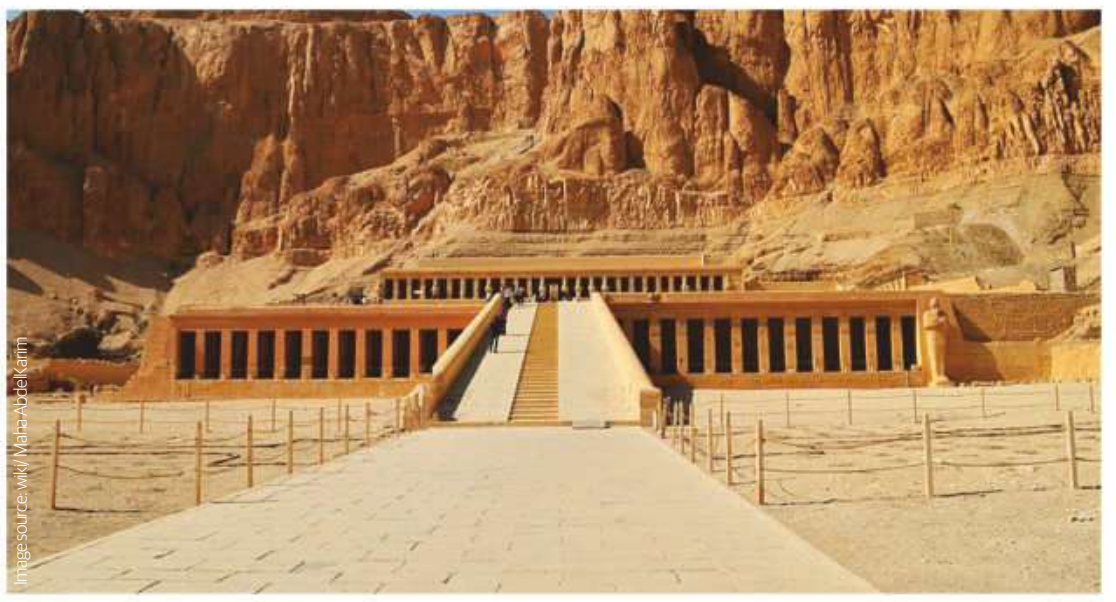


Image source: wiki/ Maha Abdelkarim

FAR-LEFT Scientists were unable to confirm they'd found Hatshepsut's mummy until they identified one of her teeth from a separate find

LEFT & ABOVE The Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut is located on the West Bank of the Nile, in the Valley of the Kings

"FIVE SHIPS SET OUT IN HER NAME, BRINGING BACK FRANKINCENSE, MYRRH AND EBONY, AMONG OTHER VALUABLE GOODS"

held territory, and conquered land as far north as Syria and as far south as the Fourth Cataract of the Nile. Meanwhile, the relics of Hatshepsut's reign continued to stand proud on the Egyptian skyline, her towering obelisks and imposing statues casting a shadow in her memory upon the land she once called hers.

However, towards the end of Thutmose's regency, he ordered that his stepmother's cartouches and images be chiselled away, and her statues torn down, disfigured and smashed before being buried in a pit. There was even an attempt at Karnak to surround her obelisks with walls. Various theories have been given to explain this sudden and dramatic turn of events. Some argue that this was carried out as a typical act of self-promotion during Thutmose's waning years, while others suggest it was a money-saving method, whereby existing buildings could be accredited to the current king.

It has been suggested that when Thutmose came of age, he demoted Hatshepsut back to the role of regent, and attempted to eliminate any evidence of her as pharaoh to claim that the royal succession ran directly to him from his father. It seems the most likely explanation is not a sinister one, but rather a cold, rational attempt to extinguish the memory of an "unconventional female king whose reign might possibly be interpreted by future generations as a grave offence against ma'at", as Egyptologist Joyce Tyldesley put it. She proposes that Thutmose carefully considered how the successful reign of a female pharaoh might affect the Egyptian social order, and eventually made the decision to eliminate her records so as to prevent a feminist uprising. Hatshepsut's crime may be nothing more than the fact that she was a woman.

The 18th Dynasty bore many of Egypt's most famous pharaohs, including Akhenaten, Nefertiti and Tutankhamun

There is still debate as to whether any other women managed to become pharaoh in the years following Hatshepsut's reign. One who caused much speculation was the wife of Thutmose III's great-great grandson, Nefertiti, as there is evidence that she was promoted to co-regent and possibly ruled as a pharaoh after her husband's death. It is clear that if she had, the Egyptians did not want her reign to be remembered, as just like Hatshepsut, her name was chiselled off records and her mummy damaged.

It would be more than 1,000 years before another female pharaoh would ascend to the Egyptian throne. Her name was Cleopatra and, unlike Hatshepsut, her story would be told in every corner of the globe for millennia to come.

Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF CRÉCY

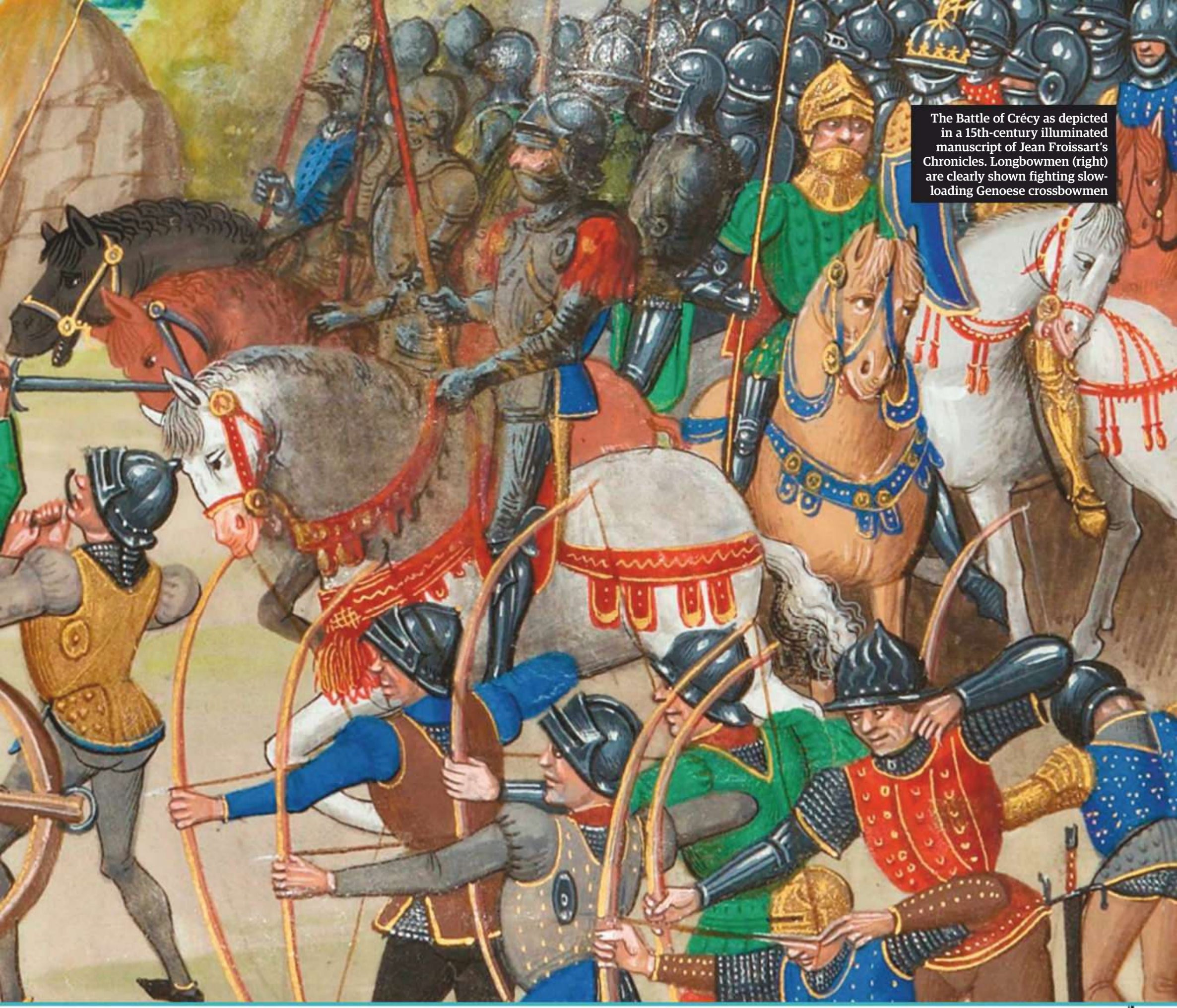
PICARDY, FRANCE, 26 AUGUST 1346

Written by Tom Garner

It is a summer's day in northern France, and on a Picardy hillside tens of thousands of soldiers have assembled to engage in a battle of two kings. One is defending his kingdom while the other has come to claim it. Two other monarchs are also present, but common soldiers dominate this noticeably regal battle.

Genoese crossbowmen are ordered by the French king, Philip VI, to attack the positions of his English rival, Edward III. As they advance a thunderstorm breaks out, and when it clears deadly arrows replace the raindrops. The sun then shines into the crossbowmen's eyes so that they are now blind as well as beleaguered. The Genoese flee.

This momentous engagement became known as the Battle of Crécy, and it was the first of three major English victories during the Hundred Years'



The Battle of Crécy as depicted in a 15th-century illuminated manuscript of Jean Froissart's Chronicles. Longbowmen (right) are clearly shown fighting slow-loading Genoese crossbowmen

Image source: wiki/Bibliothèque nationale de France

War. Although Agincourt became the most famous of the three, and Poitiers involved the capture of a French king, Crécy is arguably the most important.

"EXCESSES, REBELLIONS AND DISOBEDIENT ACTS"

Although the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) was a series of intermittent conflicts conducted over a very prolonged period, its root cause remained the same. The war was primarily conducted between the Plantagenet and Valois dynasties over the right to rule the kingdom of France, and it was Edward III who vigorously sparked the momentous conflict.

Familial ties to the French monarchy strengthened Edward's ambitions in France. His mother Isabella was the sister of Charles IV, and as his nephew, Edward believed he had a strong claim to the French throne. His claim was declared in 1328 when Charles died without a direct male heir, and Isabella claimed the throne on behalf of her son. The French thought differently.

Edward's claim was judged invalid by the French, who stated that ancient 'Salic Law' prevented women from claiming the throne for themselves or their children. The French chose Philip of Valois as their new king. Philip was a first cousin of Charles and he was duly crowned as Philip VI.

Edward did not contest Philip's accession at first, but tensions grew over the following decade. He goaded the French by creating trade problems in Flanders, and in 1337 Philip confiscated Aquitaine from Edward.

In retaliation, Edward declared himself king of France three years later in 1340, and his long-desired conflict became an open war. The English won a crushing naval victory at Sluys in June 1340 and went on to conduct a destructive raiding invasion in northern France and the Low Countries. Nevertheless, it wasn't until 1346 that Edward raised enough funds to launch a proper campaign in France and met his nemesis Philip in battle.

THE NORMANDY CHEVAUCHÉE

On 13 July 1346, Edward landed at Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue with hundreds of ships that contained around 15,000 men. Edward's army proceeded to wreak deliberately destructive havoc in Normandy. Known as a 'chevauchée', the violence was a policy of burning and pillaging in order to intimidate the local population and reduce the productivity of the region. For Edward, this form of war was designed

to strike at Philip through his subjects, and the results were devastating.

Many Norman towns, including Barfleur and Cherbourg, were burnt, along with the surrounding countryside, but it was Caen that suffered the most. When the garrison surrendered the English soldiers "were without mercy" and began to loot, rape and kill the inhabitants. After torching Normandy, Edward moved on to wreak destruction in the direction of Paris. Philip assembled as many troops as possible while sending reinforcements to Rouen.

BATTLE OF BLANCHETAQUE

Edward's path was blocked again at the River Somme, and Philip was now in hot pursuit. Fortunately for the English, a passable ford was found at Blanchetaque near Abbeville. Nevertheless, a large force of French soldiers and Genoese crossbowmen in French service defended the opposite bank. English archers forced their way across in a "sore battle" on 24 August, but Philip simultaneously attacked Edward from the rear and even captured some of his baggage train. The Somme's waters then rose and the French were prevented from crossing in pursuit.

The fighting at Blanchetaque is a historical footnote compared to the battle at Crécy two days later, but if the English had failed to cross the ford, then subsequent events would have turned out differently. By this time Edward's men were exhausted from marching, and their food supplies were very low.

Edward soon found a perfect position on rising ground near the small town of Crécy-en-Ponthieu. Below them was an open space known as the 'Valley of the Clerks'. Edward's army was protected on all flanks: to his centre and right flank was the small River Maie, while large woods surrounded his force at a safe distance.

Edward established his command post and deployed his men in order of battle. His 16-year-old son and heir Edward, Prince of Wales, commanded his right flank and centre. The prince was inexperienced so he was to be supported by able veterans such as Sir John Chandos and Geoffrey d'Harcourt. The earls of Northampton and Arundel commanded the king's left flank, while Edward himself commanded a reserve division from a windmill. The mill offered commanding views over the battlefield, and the king could easily direct operations from there.

LONGBOWMEN, 'KERN' AND CANNONS

These soldiers, whose courage Edward appealed to, were not part of an ordinary medieval army – their composition and equipment were revolutionary in continental Europe. Edward's slightly reduced force at Crécy consisted of approximately 2,000 men-at-arms, 500 lancers, 1,500 spearmen and 7,000 archers. In an age when cavalry was prized and central to battles, the predominance of foot soldiers was astonishing in itself.

Edward's archers formed the bulk of his army and carried the famous longbow. This unique bow revolutionised military tactics and was largely unknown outside of the British Isles in 1346. Longbows could measure between 1.7-1.9 metres (5ft 7in – 6ft 3in) in length, and despite becoming an English military icon they were actually Welsh in origin. Edward I had been impressed by its shooting ability during his conquest of Wales in the late-13th century.

Longbows were standardised by 1346, and each longbowman trained from an early age to loose 10 to 12 arrows per minute. This required great strength, as the bow required a draw-weight of 36-45kg (80-100lb), but the result was the equivalent of a medieval machine gun. The sky was known to darken under a heavy barrage from longbows, and each arrow had a fighting range of 135 metres (150 yards) and could pierce plate armour at 55 metres (60 yards). Each archer carried around 24 arrows as well as secondary weapons such as swords, axes, billhooks or mallets.

Edward III counts the dead on the battlefield of Crécy. The aftermath of the battle was a grisly affair, where Irish and Cornish spearmen murdered the wounded and looted their possessions

Image source: wiki/Koninklijke Bibliotheek

Longbows were not the only missile weapons in Edward's arsenal. The English are reputed to have had guns on the Crécy campaign, which were primitive tubes mounted on a cart. Artillery had never been used on a European battlefield before, but their effectiveness would have been more psychological than practical. Their lethality was questionable, but they would have produced flames, smoke and, above all, previously unheard noise.

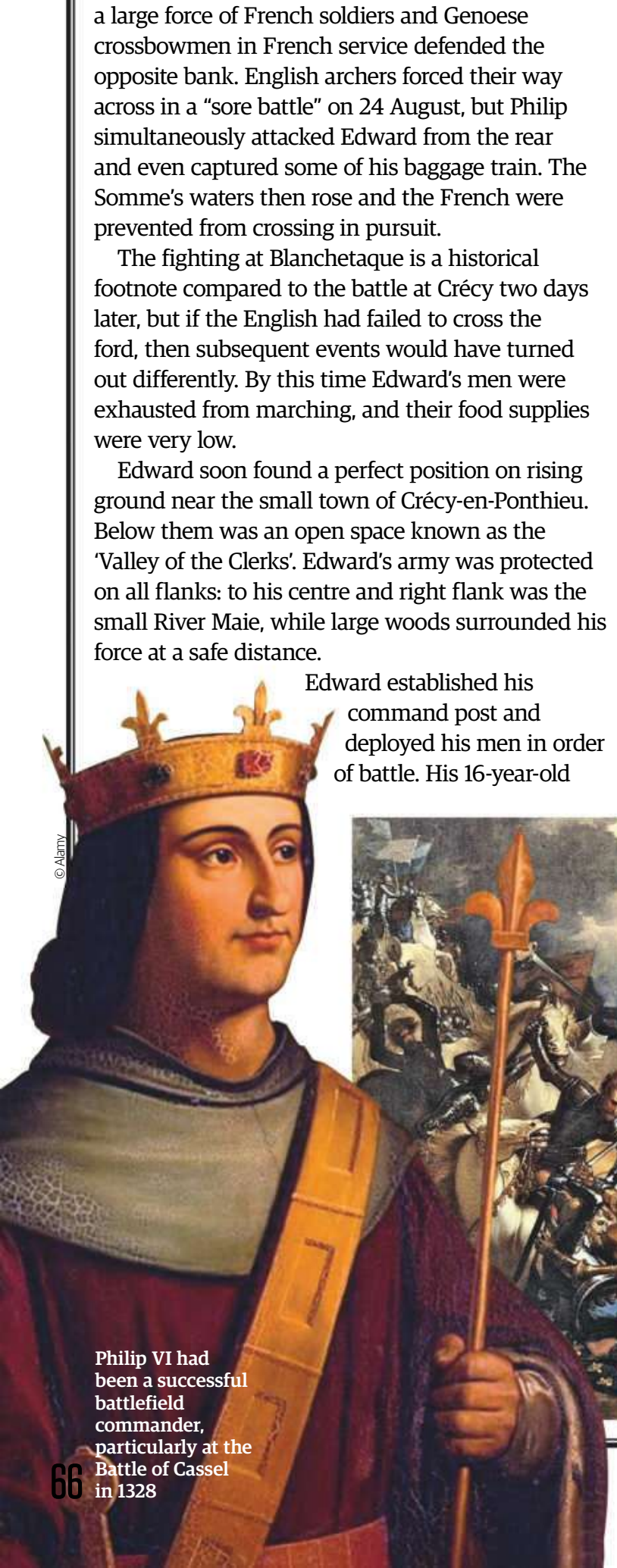
A "VERY MURDEROUS AND CRUEL" BATTLE

Despite the formidable equipment of the English army, their opponents were not to be underestimated. It was the English who were retreating in a poor condition, and Philip's confidence was arguably not misplaced when he arrived on Saturday 26 August 1346. Estimates of his army vary between 20,000-40,000 men. This included men-at-arms who almost outnumbered the English on their own, as well as large numbers of Genoese crossbowmen.

As well as the Genoese, Philip was accompanied by nobles from across Europe, including the blind King John of Bohemia, James III of Majorca and the future Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV and Charles I of Monaco. Philip's army at Crécy was the "Flower of France", and for the French the only outcome could be glory.

Nevertheless, the French army was so large that it was impossible to control. The roads between Abbeville and Crécy were also jammed by local peasants, who were encouraging Philip's force to kill the English. Philip ordered the Genoese to make the first attack through the disorder, and a line of crossbowmen advanced to within 135-180 metres (150-200 yards) of the English.

Under the circumstances, the Genoese were not the best troops to make the first attack. They had marched for kilometres carrying their heavy crossbows, and their slow loading time meant that they were vulnerable against the faster longbow arrows. Bad luck also dealt them a blow when a short, sharp thunderstorm drenched them as they advanced. By contrast, the English shrewdly



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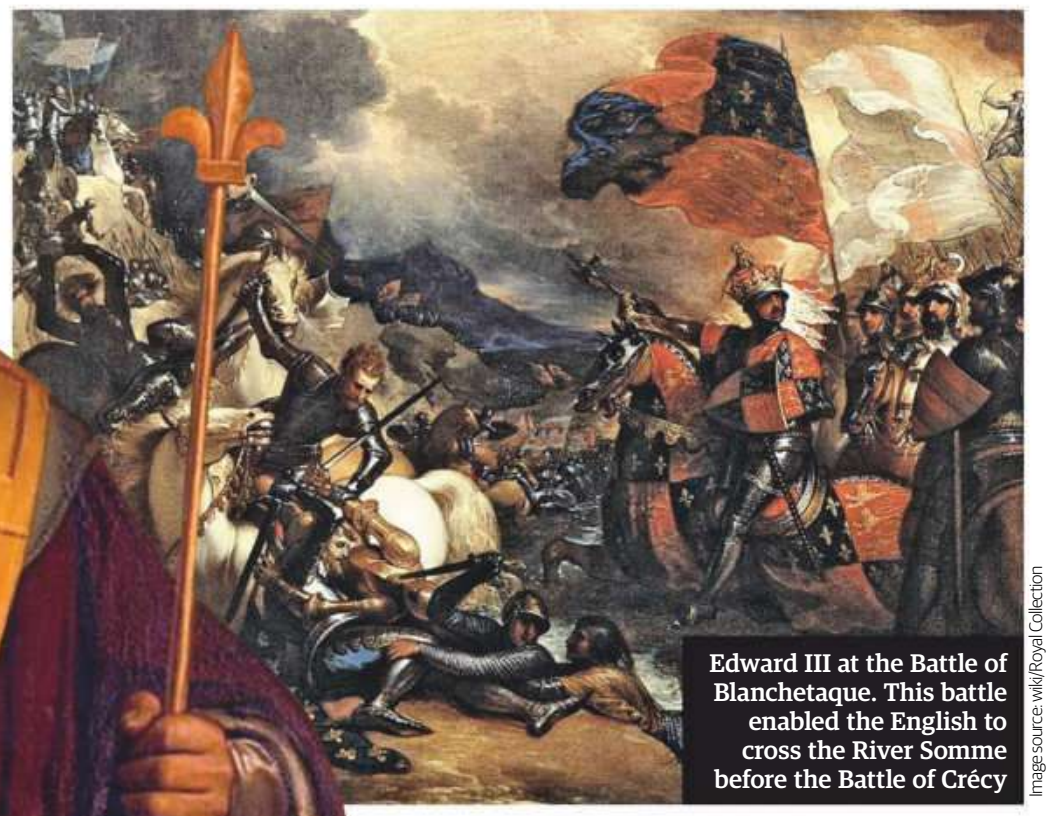
Philip VI had been a successful battlefield commander, particularly at the Battle of Cassel in 1328



Edward III at the Battle of Blanchetaque. This battle enabled the English to cross the River Somme before the Battle of Crécy

Image source: wiki/Royal Collection

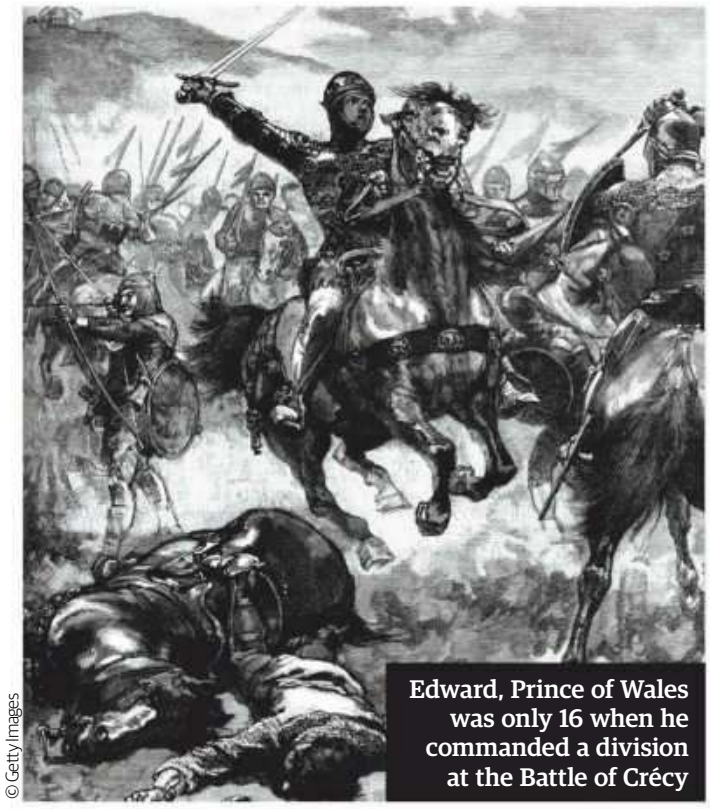
dismantled their bowstrings and covered them under their hats to keep them dry during the downpour. When the rain cleared they quickly restrung their bows, just as the evening sun began to shine in the eyes of the unfortunate Genoese.

It was perfect timing for the English, who gave a great shout, stepped forward and rained arrows down on the crossbowmen. The Genoese dropped their crossbows and retreated. French men-at-arms began a disorganised charge and trampled over the crossbowmen, while the English continued to loose volley after volley.

In the rear of the French army, the cries of the Genoese were mistaken for the English being killed, and so they also pressed forward. This created a confused mob that was being decimated by accurate longbow marksmanship. The French cavalry were "sumptuously equipped" but it made no difference against the archers. It was at this point that Edward's guns were used, and they reportedly terrified the already traumatised horses.

Despite the carnage, some of the French, including Alençon, managed to reach the English lines. They hit the Prince of Wales's division particularly hard and he was knocked down. His standard-bearer Richard de Beaumont successfully defended the prince until he could stand, and appeals were sent to the king for reinforcements.

Alençon was killed in the fighting, and soon another noble, the blind King John of Bohemia also lost his life. John was informed how the battle was proceeding, and when he heard his son was fighting he said to his attendants, "As I am blind, I request of you to lead me so far into the engagement that I may strike one stroke with my sword." The Bohemian retinue's horses were tied together with an insistent John at the head. The king rode into the English and "made good use of his sword; for he and his companions fought most gallantly". The Bohemians rode until they were killed and their bodies, including John's, were found tied together the next morning. Only two of his retinue lived to tell the tale, and Prince Edward was



© Getty Images

Edward, Prince of Wales was only 16 when he commanded a division at the Battle of Crécy

THE ENGLISH

Image source: wiki/British Library

KING EDWARD III

The Battles of Crécy and Poitiers would prove to be a high point in the reign of Edward III. Although the Treaty of Brétigny was highly favourable to the English, the later years of Edward III would be far less successful abroad and England became more unruly.

Image source: wiki/National Library of Wales

EDWARD, THE BLACK PRINCE

While the origin of the appellation 'The Black Prince' remains unknown, many point to this battle as the moment at which he may have earned it. Edward's brutal tactics against the French may have lead to his enemies referring to him as a 'black boar'.

THE FRENCH

Image source: wiki/Royal Collection

KING PHILIP VI

Philip VI only just escaped the Battle of Crécy with his life as he was badly wounded. As if defeats to the English at Crécy and Sluys weren't enough to destabilise his reign, the onset of the Black Death in France wreaked more havoc and made matters even worse in the years that followed.

Image source: wiki/Bibliothèque nationale de France

COUNT OF ALENÇON

Charles II of Alençon was Philip VI's brother and lead the men-at-arms who on their own nearly outnumbered the English army in total. His progress was hampered again and again by fleeing and disorganised fighters between his men and the English ranks. He ultimately died in the crush.

Image source: wiki/Antoine de Succa

KING JOHN OF BOHEMIA

Also known as John the Blind (losing his sight around 1336), he was also the king of Poland from 1310 and count of Luxembourg from 1313. He died at Crécy having lead a cavalry charge into the English lines. Being blind he had been tied to his men, also on horseback, to guide him.

so moved that he reputedly adopted John's crest and motto 'Ich Dien' ('I Serve') as his own. It is still the official heraldic badge of the Prince of Wales.

The French army charged against the English 15 times during the battle, and each charge was cut down by the longbowmen. The attacks continued until nightfall, when Philip (who had been wounded in the neck by an arrow and unhorsed at least once) led a futile charge of 60 men-at-arms. He was saved from death when the count of Hainault persuaded him to leave and win another day. Philip rode to the nearest chateau with only five attendants and famously shouted outside the gate, "Open your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of France!" After briefly resting, the king then rode on at night to safety at Amiens, but his defeat was calamitous.

ONWARDS TO CALAIS

The battle did not finally end until nightfall, and the English remained in their positions and slept on the ground. Even when dawn broke there was a thick fog that initially obscured the battlefield. After the earl of Northampton fought off a final French force of militia and Norman knights, Edward was finally able to observe the scale of his victory and ordered the dead to be counted.

The result was shocking. As well as John of Bohemia, the French had lost many of their senior nobles – the duke of Lorraine, Alençon and around ten other counts, including those of Flanders, Blois and Auxerre. Over 1,000 lords and knights were killed and at least 10,000 'common' soldiers died, although the true figure will never be known. While the French dead were counted, the kern went across the battlefield and gruesomely murdered the enemy wounded and pillaged them, only sparing the ones that were deemed worthy of ransom. By contrast, Edward reputedly lost only around 100 men, although chroniclers may have downplayed his actual losses.

What is not in doubt is that Crécy was one of the most crushing victories of the 14th century. English soldiers had previously been poorly regarded in Europe, but the battle was an unexpected triumph of 'firepower' over armour, and as such it was something of a military revolution. Although Edward was in no position to take Paris afterwards, he proceeded to attack Calais in a siege that lasted from September 1346 to August 1347. Throughout this time Philip was reluctant to relieve the siege because he feared a repeat of Crécy. Once the port had fallen it became a key English base for the rest of the Hundred Years' War, and was held by the English until 1558.

Despite many more victories and territorial gains, Edward III never succeeded in becoming king of France, but Crécy still left a terrible legacy. Bloody though it was, the battle and subsequent capture of Calais was the true beginning of England's brutally confident and often successful campaigns in France. It ensured that the English would only continue to press their royal claims even harder, and the result was a brutal conflict that cost countless dead and lasted for 116 years.

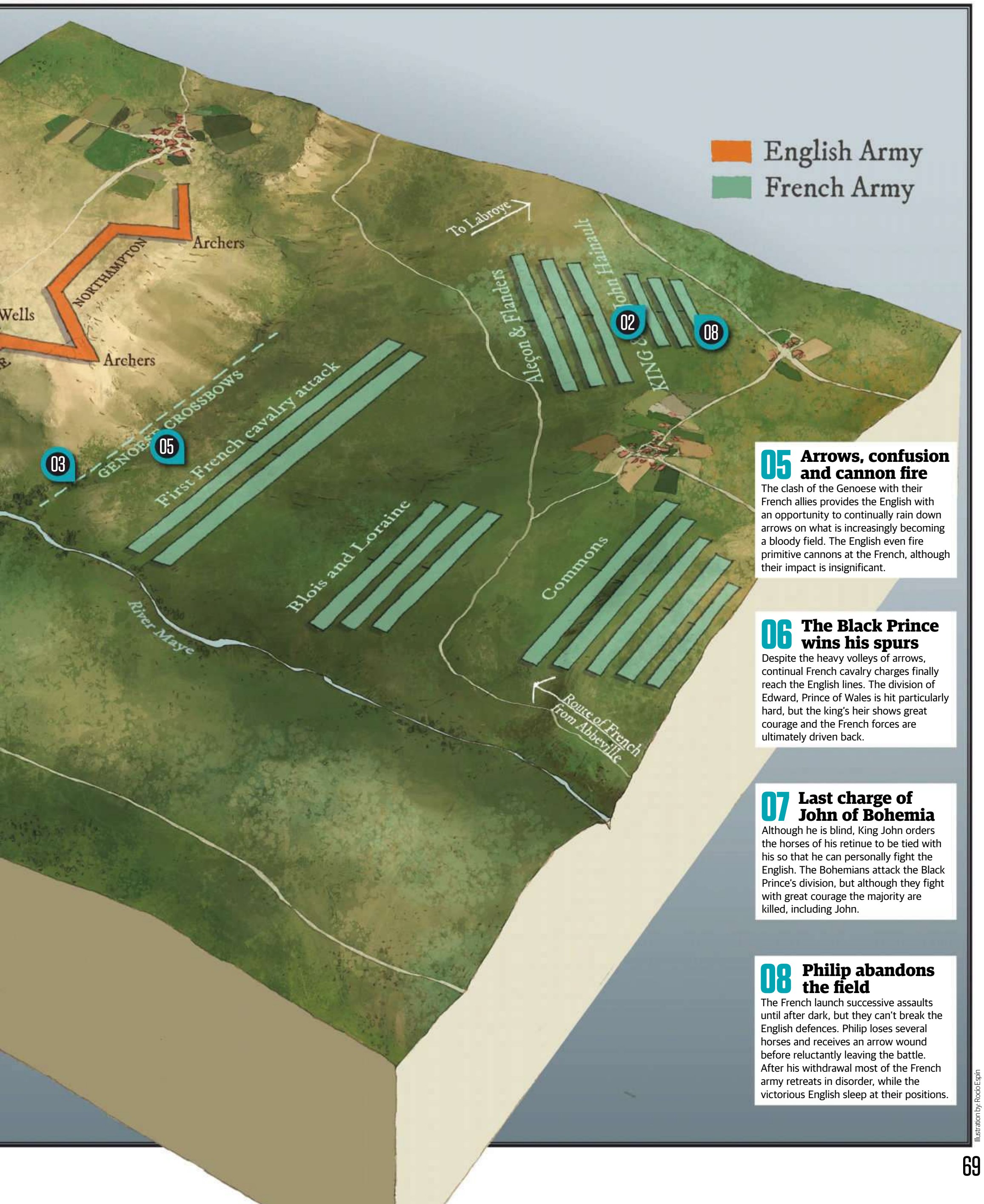
26 AUGUST 1346

01 Deployment at the windmill
Edward III assembles his men on a hillside near Crécy-en-Ponthieu and divides them into three divisions. The Black Prince and the earl of Northampton command the English right and left flanks, while the king commands a reserve division at the hilltop windmill. A front line of archers connects Northampton's and the prince's divisions.

02 Philip VI arrives
While the English rest in position, Philip VI's extremely large French army comes onto the battlefield. It consists of enormous numbers of mounted men-at-arms and an unknown number of infantry. Enthusiasm is strong among the soldiers and local people to destroy the English.

03 The Genoese advance
The French are so keen to fight that their large numbers create disorder. Philip orders Genoese crossbowmen to begin the battle by advancing within shooting distance of the English lines. A thunderstorm breaks out and hinders their progress, while Edward's archers protect their bowstrings from the rain.

04 Longbowmen fire deadly volleys
The rain stops and the evening sun shines into the eyes of the Genoese. The English use this to their advantage by loosing murderous volleys of arrows at the crossbowmen. Their accuracy creates panic and the Genoese retreat. The crossbowmen are then cut down by furious French knights, who launch a disorganised charge against the English.



05 Arrows, confusion and cannon fire

The clash of the Genoese with their French allies provides the English with an opportunity to continually rain down arrows on what is increasingly becoming a bloody field. The English even fire primitive cannons at the French, although their impact is insignificant.

06 The Black Prince wins his spurs

Despite the heavy volleys of arrows, continual French cavalry charges finally reach the English lines. The division of Edward, Prince of Wales is hit particularly hard, but the king's heir shows great courage and the French forces are ultimately driven back.

07 Last charge of John of Bohemia

Although he is blind, King John orders the horses of his retinue to be tied with his so that he can personally fight the English. The Bohemians attack the Black Prince's division, but although they fight with great courage the majority are killed, including John.

08 Philip abandons the field

The French launch successive assaults until after dark, but they can't break the English defences. Philip loses several horses and receives an arrow wound before reluctantly leaving the battle. After his withdrawal most of the French army retreats in disorder, while the victorious English sleep at their positions.

Illustration by: Rocío Espín

What If...

HENRY VII HAD BEEN OVERTHROWN?

When Henry VII became king, plots were in place and pretenders eagerly eyed England's throne. What if one of them had succeeded?

Written by Callum McKelvie

INTERVIEW WITH

Image source: Nathen Amin

NATHEN AMIN

Nathen Amin is a historian and researcher from Carmarthenshire, Wales, whose work focuses on the reign of Henry VII and the 15th century in general. His books include *The House Of Beaufort* and *Henry VII And The Tudor Pretenders: Simnel, Warbeck And Warwick*.

Why, early in his reign, are there so many attempts to depose Henry VII?
Perhaps amongst all the medieval kings of England, Henry VII was the unlikeliest figure to ever sit upon the English throne. A minor noble of Welsh, French and English extraction, he was forced into exile as a boy, and though directly descended from Edward III, by the back-end of the 15th century this was hardly exceptional amongst his peers.

Even as late as the morning of the Battle of Bosworth on 22 August 1485, Henry remained a figure of convenience for many rebels in the struggle to overcome the royal forces of Richard III, who had risen to the throne just two years prior amid allegations he had murdered his nephews, the so-called Princes in the Tower. Certainly the odds of Henry succeeding at Bosworth with his disparate force of Lancastrian veterans, Yorkist dissidents and foreign mercenaries against a superior royal army were slim, and it's true to suggest his victory was only really sealed by Stanley's betrayal of Richard III. It was Richard's loss rather than Henry's win.

When Henry became king, therefore, his reputation and his character were unknown to the vast majority of the subjects he now sought to rule. He had left home at 14, condemned as a rebel, and now at 28-years-old stood before them as their saviour. It's not difficult to believe there would have been a degree of cynicism in houses and taverns throughout the realm.

Between 1461 and 1485, no fewer than four kings had been deposed, twice in Henry VI's case. This recent history amid wide-scale collapse of law, order and royal authority put Henry VII at a distinct disadvantage when he ascended the throne. Though we're blessed with the hindsight of how Henry VII's reign ultimately unfolded, at the time there was surely widespread expectancy that this was to be another short stint on an increasingly unstable throne.

This pattern of replacing kings was threatening to become endemic, and with other, arguably more viable, candidates for the throne still living, the wheels of conspiracy were already turning against Henry VII. Yorkist infighting survived the Tudor ascendancy, as some of those now out in the cold sought to reverse the Battle of Bosworth. With nothing to lose but everything to gain, history gave a new generation of dissidents confidence to make a move.

Who was Lambert Simnel?
Lambert Simnel was the first pretender to the throne positioned against Henry VII in 1487, less than two years into the new Tudor reign. Rumours around court in spring 1487 suggested that a conspiracy was afoot in support of the 12-year-old Edward, Earl of Warwick,

© Getty Images

Main image sources: © Getty Images

RIGHT The tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York

KING IS DEAD!

LONG LIVE NEW KING!

NB

THE PAST

1483

THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER

Edward and his brother Richard were the sons of Edward IV. Traditionally, the record states that the young princes were escorted to the Tower of London by their uncle Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Actually quite a luxurious residence, the boys quickly disappeared and rumours abound that their wicked uncle had conspired to have them smothered in their sleep. These events were later used by Shakespeare as part of his theatrical take of Richard III and further cemented the mystery of the princes.

1485

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH

The last significant battle of the War of the Roses, the Battle of Bosworth was the final stand of Richard III. Sailing across the channel from France with a force of 2,000 men, Henry's Lancastrian army had almost doubled in size by the time they had marched from Wales and crossed the border into Shrewsbury. However, when facing a royal force that was nearly 10,000-strong the odds of Henry winning were initially somewhat slim. Watching the Battle was Lord Stanley, a nobleman and a remarkably shrewd one at that. He'd been complicit in Richard III's accession but when the forces of Henry landed, Stanley ignored requests from the king for assistance. As soon as Henry's army began to edge towards victory, Stanley's force of 6,000 backed them up. Perhaps seeing the battle was lost, Richard III charged at his enemy directly. He fought for some time, but was finally subdued.

Image source: wiki/ Life Photo Archive

1487

THE REAL LAMBERT SIMNEL

Following his defeat and capture, Simnel was not imprisoned in the Tower of London and executed as might be expected, but was instead sent to work in the royal kitchens as a lowly scullery boy. However, as Simnel was so well-behaved and so keen to please, he was quickly promoted to the role of a page before finally being given the task of looking after the king's falcons, an extremely important role.

a Yorkist prince and nephew of both Edward IV and Richard III. Though Henry VII had the real earl firmly under lock and key in the Tower of London, the conspiracy leaders instead claimed they had the boy in their care. On 24 May 1487, this mysterious boy was crowned King Edward in Dublin and England was invaded by an army featuring a few Yorkist nobles who had previously been loyal to Richard III, many Irish lords and a contingent of German mercenaries. Their plan outwardly appears to have been to kill Henry VII and replace him on the throne with the Yorkist Edward of Warwick, though it's unclear how they planned to explain away two Warwicks!

The plot failed when a Tudor royal army accomplished at the Battle of Stoke Field what Richard III had failed to do at Bosworth, and that was to defeat the invaders. The imposter prince was captured and it was determined through investigation that his name was Lambert Simnel, a tradesman's son from Oxford who'd been trained by a wayward priest. Rather than face execution, the boy was put to work in the royal kitchens, living deep into the reign of Henry VIII.

Who was Perkin Warbeck?

Who was Warbeck, indeed? This is the question that continues to divide students of history 521 years after his death. In 1491, four years after the Simnel plot failed, word reached the English court that another pretender had surfaced in Ireland, this time claiming to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the Princes in the Tower. Unlike the captive Warwick, no-one knew what had happened to the sons of Edward IV, and though presumed dead, rumours nevertheless abounded that perhaps one had in fact survived.

Image source: wiki/ Encyclopedia Britannica

Image source: wiki/ The National Trust

"The imposter prince Simnel was spared execution and put to work in the royal kitchens"

ABOVE The two princes in the tower were allegedly murdered, but was Perkin Warbeck in fact Richard, Duke of York?

LEFT Lambert Simnel being carried through the streets as the 'rightful king'

This was problematic for Henry VII, whose entire reign was based on the premise that the younger brothers of his wife, Elizabeth of York, were dead. This pretender, 'Prince Richard', claimed he had been spared death by a compassionate assassin and taken abroad until it was time to reclaim his lost birthright. Between 1491 and 1497, the Yorkist pretender gained support from various European powers who sought to unsettle Henry VII for their own purposes, including France, Burgundy and Scotland. One particular key ally was Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV and Richard III and who, as the pretender's 'aunt', championed his cause.

The pretender's campaign ultimately floundered and he was captured by Henry VII in 1497. During interrogation, he confessed that his name was Pierrechon Werbecque and he was a native of Tournai. Though initially afforded some degree of leniency, the pretender was executed two years later

after a thwarted escape attempt. There is ample evidence to suggest Warbeck's confession that he was an imposter was true, but the debate about his real identity rumbles on.

How close to success did either of these two come?
History teaches us that Henry VII died a wealthy and insuperable king in 1509, a king who oversaw the first peaceful transferral of power from father to son in 87 years. He succeeded where predecessors such as Edward IV and Richard III had failed, and it is accurate to state that Henry overcame every challenge to his crown with little serious difficulty, not least the Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck affairs. This is not to diminish the very real threat Henry would have felt as events developed, however, acting without the benefit of hindsight and knowing how his story would end.

In hindsight, none came close to toppling the Tudor regime from the throne. Simnel likely had the best chance as he brought the king to the battlefield at Stoke in 1487, where subtle changes in loyalty or even the weather could determine the victor on the day. In the event, the royal army crushed its opponent with little incident. Warbeck enjoyed some diplomatic success abroad but it was always fleeting, and he failed multiple times invading England. As for Warwick – he spent the majority of his life cooped up in a chamber. Although his name resonated for a handful of Yorkist loyalists, he was regarded with little importance by the wider public who, it seems, just got on with life.

If any of these challengers had seized the throne, what could the immediate effect have been?
Further war and bloodshed. The country was splintered and there certainly wasn't a consensus behind any one candidate. It is likely further destabilising of the crown would have resulted in continuing chaos as factions within the houses fought with one another. Henry VII's ultimate victory was being able to steady the ship somewhat by the time of his death, and it's difficult to believe others would have been as successful.

What was Henry's legacy as a ruler?
Henry VII's ultimate legacy is that England was freed of the widespread disorder and war which had reduced crown authority throughout the 15th century. Although Shakespeare and much of history has portrayed his unlikely victory at Bosworth in 1485 as the moment Henry brought the Wars of the Roses to a close, it is more accurate to consider his death at 1509 as the date the wars ended. By securing the Tudor succession, the first peaceful transferal of power from father to son in 87 years, Henry left behind a popular dual-descended Yorkist and Lancastrian heir on the throne in Henry VIII. The Wars of the Roses were over.

If one of the pretenders had succeeded, what could their wider legacy have been?
That's an impossible question to answer, though I suspect they would have been short reigns marked by violence and war. Henry VII was only able to succeed due to his fairly widespread support in 1485, whether because of his character or his Yorkist marriage, and he possessed an intelligence that marked him out from his peers. He was circumspect, far-sighted and driven by his unique experience prior to becoming king. Would any of the other three have been able to match Henry's accomplishments? Or rather become failed short-term royal experiments as England descended into greater turmoil than ever before?

© Getty Images

BELOW
Henry VII is crowned king by Stanley on Bosworth Field

THE POSSIBILITY

1483

WERE THE PRINCES REALLY DEAD?

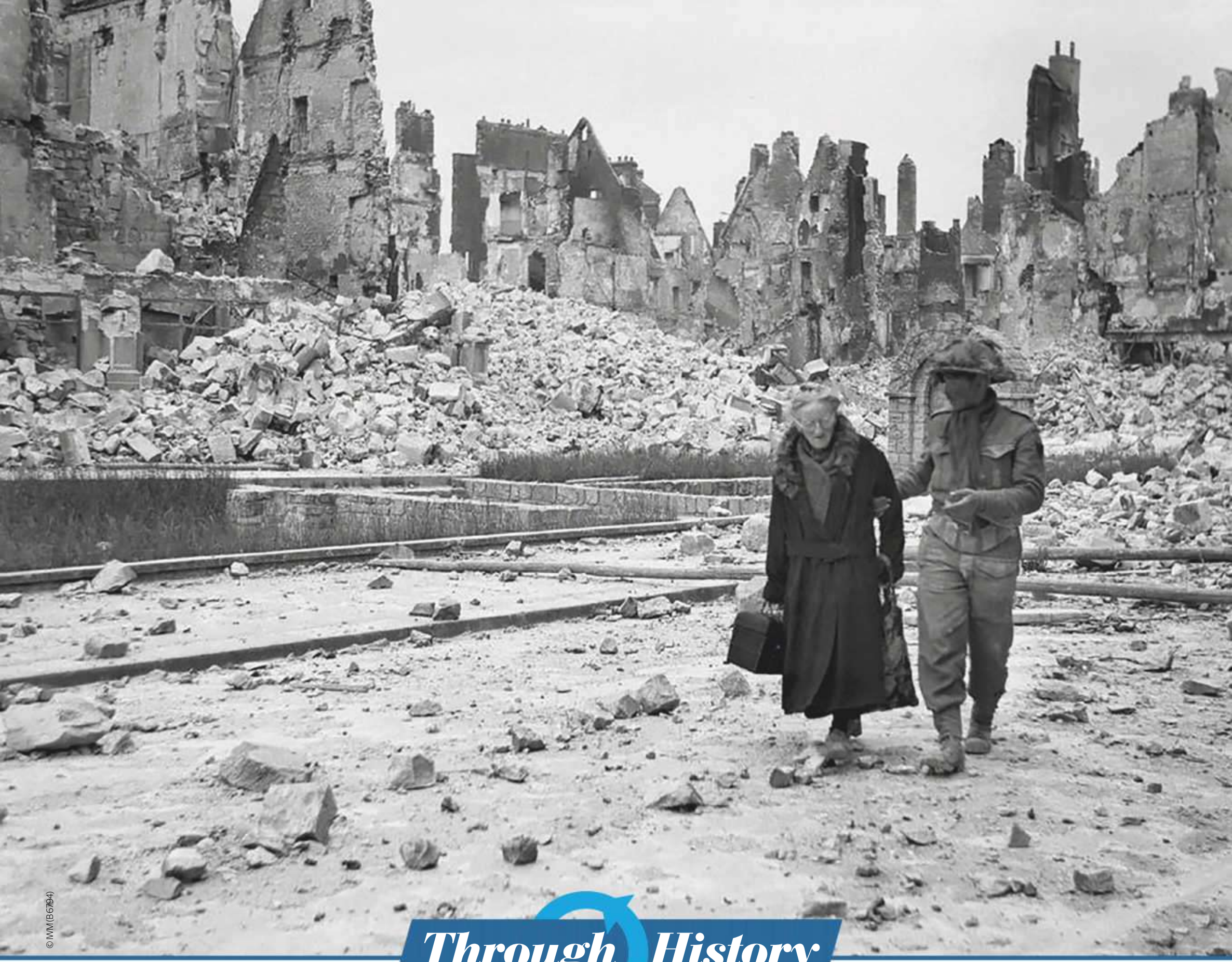
Fans of conspiracy theories can add another, historical one to their list as Henry's actions surrounding Perkin Warbeck have raised several questions. Firstly, there's no recorded evidence of Henry investigating the fate of the two princes, nor any suggestion of a search of the tower occurring. Others have questioned how close Elizabeth Woodville's loss of property and removal to Bermondsey Abbey were to Lambert Simnel's appearance and if they can truly be coincidences. Indeed, one school of thought has gone further and suggested that in fact Simnel claimed to be one Edward V and not Edward Earl of Warwick, with this claim being constructed by Henry VII, who could parade the real Warwick, but would have no such luck with Edward. There is plentiful evidence to this theory, including accounts by poet Bernard André and Henry VII's eagerness to destroy the records of the Irish Parliament. Did he perhaps destroy something else with them?

Image source: wiki/ National Museum in Warsaw

1485

THE CONTINUED WAR OF THE ROSES?

Under the rule of Henry VII, the House of York could have perhaps expected numerous repercussions, but the king was shrewd enough not to anger the nobles and provoke further threats to his place on the throne. Margaret,daughter of the Duke of Clarence, was married to one of Henry's oldest supporters – possibly to prevent her being used in a Yorkist rebellion. Perhaps the most unfortunate was Edward, Earl of Warwick, who had he been given his freedom could have similarly been used as a focal point for rebellion. While his imprisonment was likely not too unpleasant, he would eventually be executed alongside Perkin Warbeck for attempting to escape. There is some suggestion this was in fact requested by Spanish monarchs before Katherine was to be given to the Tudors. Had a pretender seized the throne, it's unsure how the Houses of York and Lancaster would have continued.



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Through History

REFUGEES: FORCED TO FLEE

A new exhibition at the Imperial War Museum highlights the stories and struggles of refugees throughout the 20th and 21st centuries

The thought of losing our homes and being forced onto the road is surely one of our worst nightmares. Yet it's a horrifying reality that's faced by millions of people every day and throughout history. Europe during the 20th century in particular saw many civilians forced to leave their homes and countries due to the threat of either war or persecution. Following the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939, thousands of loyalists fled to France. And during World War II, many Jewish children were able to escape persecution by the Nazis in so-called Kindertransport.

Now, as we face another refugee crisis, an estimated 68.5 million people have been forcibly displaced throughout the world. A new exhibition at the Imperial War Museum London, Refugees: Forced To Flee, highlights the struggles faced by individuals throughout a variety of wars and conflicts through a range of artefacts and photography. More than anything else, it puts the experiences of those forced to seek refuge at the centre of the story.

The exhibition forms part of the IWM's Refugees season at IWM London and IWM North. Featuring cutting-edge research supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Economic and Social Research Council, Refugees: Forced To Flee runs until 24 May 2021 at IWM London (iwm.org.uk).

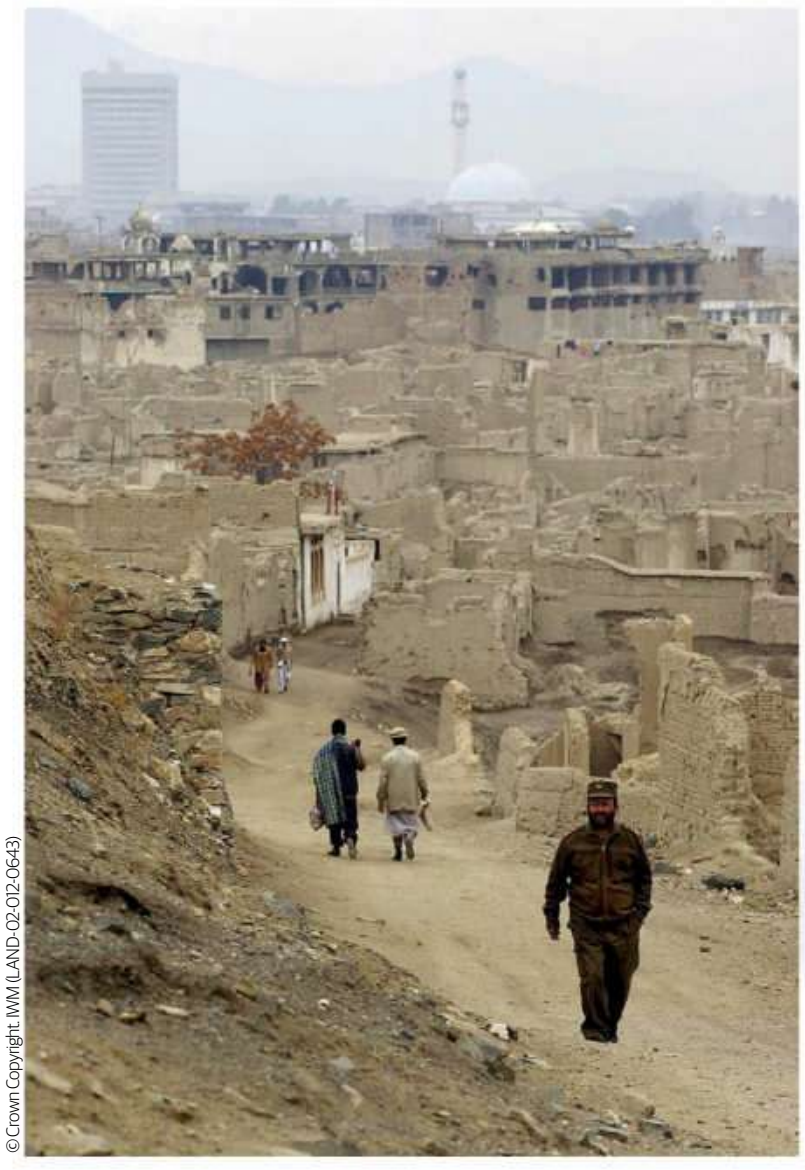
BOSNIAN GENOCIDE

In 1992, the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence. During the next three years some 100,000 Croatian and Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) civilians were massacred by the Bosnian Serb forces. This photograph shows a group attempting to make it to the Bosnian village of Turbe in 1993.

© IWM (HU 140278)

REFUGEES IN AFGHANISTAN, 2002

In 2002, British troops were deployed in Afghanistan as part of the International Security Assistance Force. The resulting war meant that even now, 18 years later, there are still 2.7 million refugees as a result of the conflict.



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GERMAN STAR OF DAVID BADGE

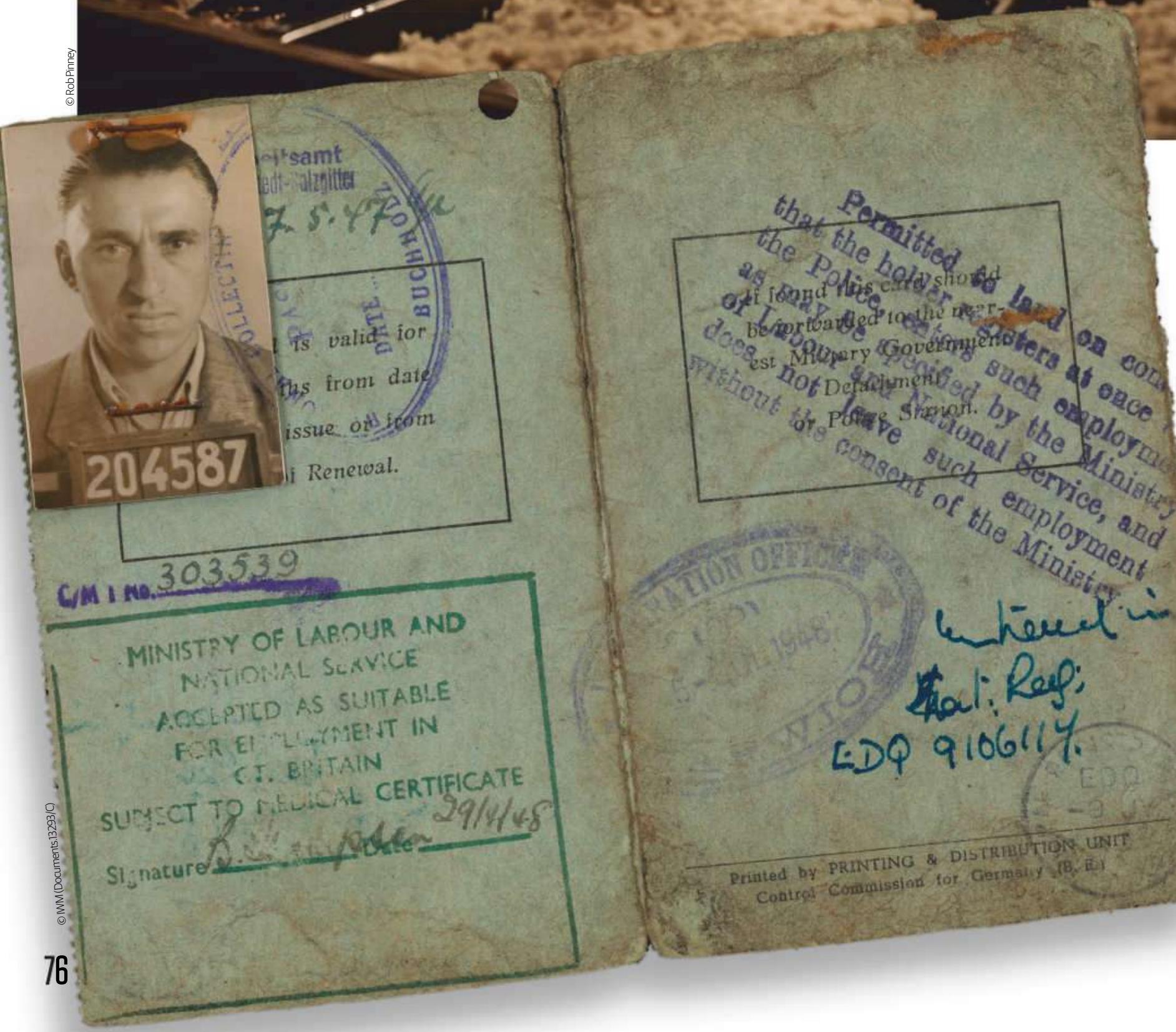
Jews in Nazi-occupied countries were forced to wear the 'Star of David' badge to both identify and humiliate them. Emmanuel Seinfeld, this badge's wearer, survived the war and in 1946 gave it to the British family who had taken in his daughter Eva.

© IWM (INS 8006)

© Rob Pinney

MARIO'S

▲ Between 2015-2016, a refugee camp on the outskirts of Calais became nicknamed The Jungle. This makeshift restaurant, Mario's, offered food and a warm place to socialise for those seeking safety.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1947 IMMIGRATION CARD

◀ Following the end of World War II, political prisoners who had been held in concentration camps attempted to settle in new homes across Europe. This immigration card belonged to Felix Szwedo, a Polish political prisoner held in Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen. This card identifies him as 'suitable for employment' in Britain.

© IWM (KY 1215F)

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BRITISH ARMY RECRUITMENT POSTER

Following the German invasion of Belgium, the Nazi atrocities were used in propaganda to urge British men to enlist in the armed forces. Women refugees fleeing were often used to incite anger. This poster depicts a mother fleeing with her child.

© IWM (B 7700)

MARI-ANNE LE DU

Towards the end of World War II, Operation Overlord and the Normandy landings displaced civilians in northern France as the bitter fighting destroyed villages and towns. Here, Mari-Anne Le Du clutches a treasured book in the ruins of her home in Normandy, July 1944.

GERMAN REFUGEES FLEE THE SOVIET ADVANCE

As World War II came to a close and Soviet troops began to advance, German civilians fled the onslaught. In this image, taken in May 1945, refugees pick their way across a partially destroyed railway bridge over the River Elbe.

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

© Signature Entertainment UK

A CALL TO SPY

A must-see WWII drama acknowledging a trio of extraordinary women

Certificate: TBC **Director:** Lydia Dean Pilcher **Cast:** Sarah Megan Thomas, Radhika Atpe, Stana Katic, Linus Roache
Released: 23 October 2020

Super-charged by a compelling screenplay from Sarah Megan Thomas, who also headlines as pioneering secret agent Virginia Hall, *A Call To Spy* is a riveting, well-paced historical thriller about the lives of three remarkable women – an American expat with a wooden leg, an Indian Muslim and a Romanian Jewish émigré. As shown in Lydia Dean Pilcher's film, their individual and collective contributions to the Allied war effort via the French Resistance were groundbreaking and extraordinarily brave.

In the early days of World War II, Winston Churchill ordered the Special Operations Executive (SOE) to begin training civilian women as spies. They were put through the same rigorous selection processes as men and sent across the Channel to build a spying network with the help of the French. Hall, an American national, posed as a reporter for *The New York Post*. This cover story enabled her to travel, interview locals and gather intel, while avoiding the suspicions of Vichy officials and the Gestapo. Though, as we see, the SS eventually cottoned on to the ruse. Noor Inayat Khan (Radhika Atpe) had grown up in France, spoke the language fluently and could pass herself off as a citizen.

Jean-Pierre Melville's *Army Of Shadows* (1969) is and always will be the greatest film ever made about the years of the underground movement to disrupt and sabotage the Nazi war machine in Occupied France. *A Call To Spy* shares with that singular masterpiece a complete lack of rose-tinted nostalgia for deeds of defiance and derring-do, presenting it for what it was: a dangerous undertaking fraught with an array of threats and potential betrayal at every turn. The film should be commended, too, for avoiding typical female spy clichés and tired tropes, such as using their feminine charms and sexuality on stupid Nazis to get what they want. We see them slice open the necks and bellies of the enemy to avoid detection when forced into a corner, encouraging the point they were ready and willing to kill for the greater good. There was nothing squeamish or girly about Hall, especially. A male director would have been tempted to portray them as 'Winston's Angels', all dolled up and kicking butt. Pilcher keeps it real, reminding us these agents were trained to kill, artists in subterfuge and great patriots. Just as good as the men at their jobs but receiving half the respect.

Most history-based movies take liberties with timelines and characters. It's part and parcel of the demands of storytelling. What most impresses about *A Call To Spy*, though, besides the menfolk riding shotgun for once, is how in between the high tension it finds breathing space to examine the different types of prejudices each woman faced. Hall was disabled (the SS gave her a nickname, The Limping Lady), Noor Inayat Khan was mixed race, while their Romanian handler, Vera Atkins (Stana Katic), had to contend with antisemitism and constant suspicions she was a double agent. ***MC***

★★★★☆

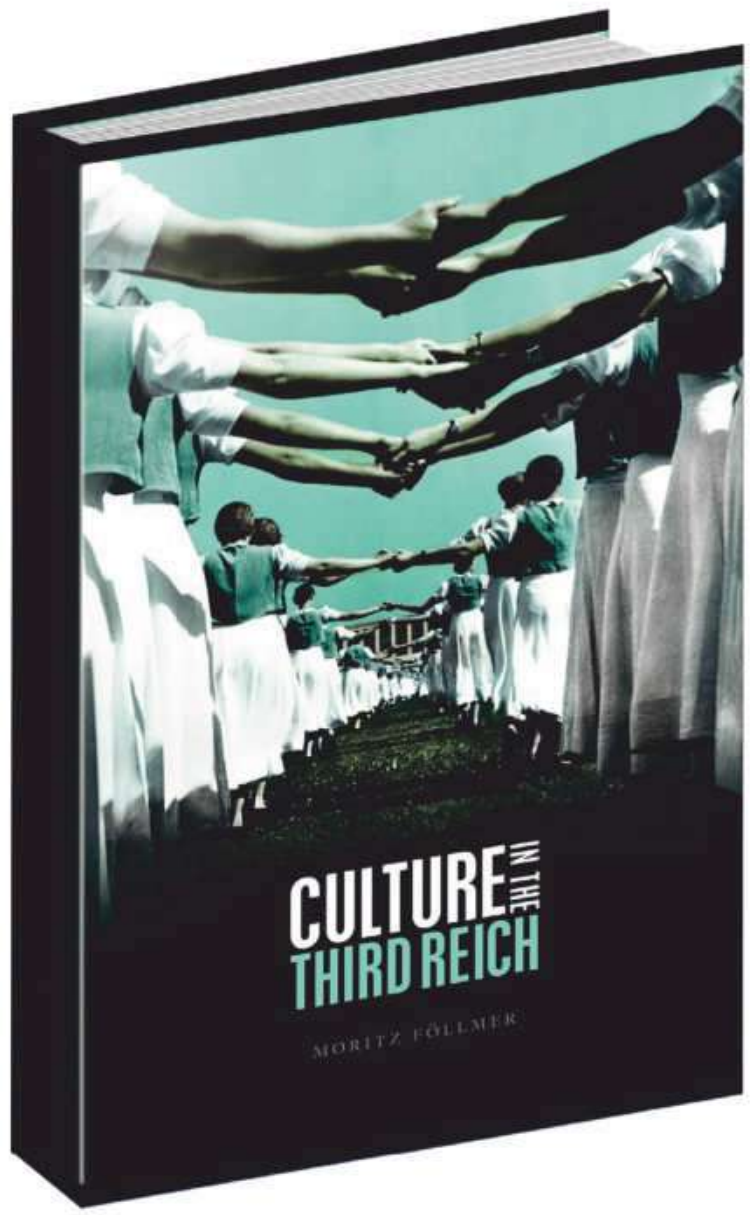
Book Film TV Podcast Games Other

Reviews by
Catherine Curzon, Martyn Conterio

CULTURE IN THE THIRD REICH

A new perspective on the culture of the Third Reich

Author Moritz Föllmer (Translated by Lesley Sharpe and Jeremy Noakes)
Publisher Oxford University press **Price** £20 **Released** Out now

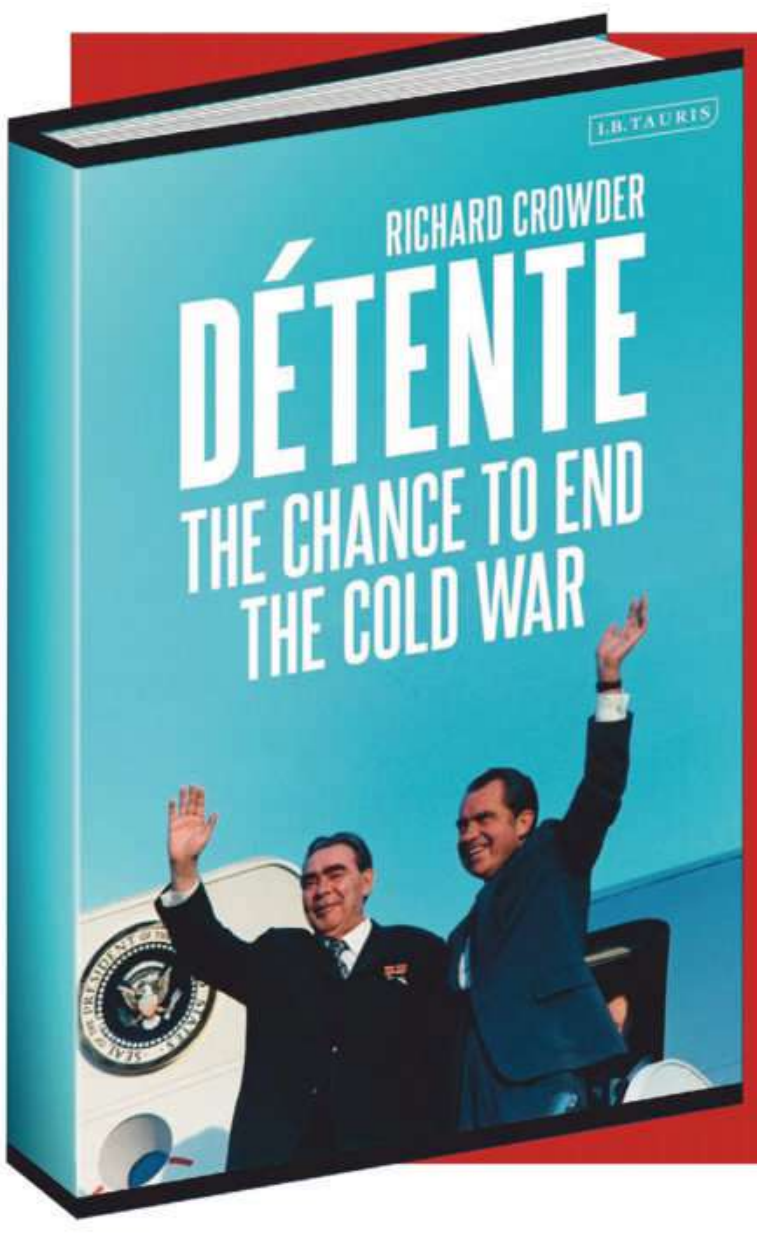


Moritz Föllmer's *Culture Of The Third Reich* sets out to examine not only the cultural identity of the Third Reich, but how the careful cultivation of that identity played a vital part in the acceptance of the regime. Much has been written on the subject but Föllmer approaches the material from a new angle, shining a spotlight on what culture actually meant in the Reich, from committed supporters of the Nazis at one end of the spectrum to those who were its innocent victims at the other.

Föllmer guides the reader through the cultural landscape of the Third Reich from 1933 until 1945, as Joseph Goebbels strove to create a cultural identity that would be recognised instantly as that of National Socialism. From movies to magazines, mass rallies and even beauty pageants, the book illustrates in chilling detail the way that culture became a weapon of propaganda, crafted for mass appeal while preaching a message of domination and hatred.

Culture Of The Third Reich is obviously situated firmly in the field of cultural studies, and it's here that the book runs into its only real sticking point. Occasionally concepts seem to get lost in translation, and though these instances are few and far between it does mean that the text becomes a little clunky now and then. That is a small complaint, though, and on the whole does no harm to a fascinating work. *Culture Of The Third Reich* may not be for the more casual reader, but this insightful book has much to recommend it. ***CC***

★★★★☆



DÉTENTE: THE CHANCE TO END THE COLD WAR

A sweeping and evocative account of the Cold War's thaw

Author Richard Crowder **Publisher** IB Tauris **Price** £30 **Released** Out now

Détente: The Chance To End The Cold War looks back on a momentous period in relations between East and West, when there were encouraging signs that the Cold War might be about to undergo a thaw. Brezhnev called that period, from 1968 to 1975, détente, and he and Nixon approached this potential new landscape with high hopes.

Richard Crowder's narrative tells the unfolding story of a world in flux, when everything seemed to be changing, from one side of the globe to the other. It's an ambitious and vast canvas, pulling in student protests in the USA to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, as well as pitched battles on Parisian streets and the war in Vietnam. All of this combines to create a richly drawn global tapestry that feels real, vivid and hugely relevant.

Crowder manages to combine an eye for detail and a laser focus on the germane points with the ability to evoke some of the most momentous years and complex characters in modern history. In doing so, he skilfully balances a lively and enormously readable approach with the more scholarly elements required to tie together these disparate events to tell the tale of a changing world.

Détente: The Chance To End The Cold War should appeal to a wide readership, from those who are already well-versed in stories of the Cold War to readers with a more casual interest in contemporary history. It's fast-moving, engaging and authoritative in equal measure. ***CC***

★★★★★

101 World's Greatest Castles

With each one packed full of centuries of history, the many castles of the world are epicentres for some of the biggest events, battles and scandals. Some were homes, some prisons and many fortresses and this book digs into it all. With castles from around the world, from South Africa and Japan to France and Romania, this special is packed with architectural wonders.

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Buy *101 World's Greatest Castles* in shops or online at **Magazinesdirect.com**
Price: £12.99

HISTORY OF WAR **RECOMMENDS...**

Toxic

Author Dan Kaszeta
Price £25 **Publisher** Hurst

This chilling account of the history of nerve agents takes the reader back to antiquity and the poisonous Calabar bean, used in West Africa in judicial proceedings on people accused of a serious crime. Kaszeta's grim but fascinating narrative goes beyond cataloguing the historic growth of nerve agents by warring states. He describes the effect this deadly substance can have and the connection between exposure and mental illness.

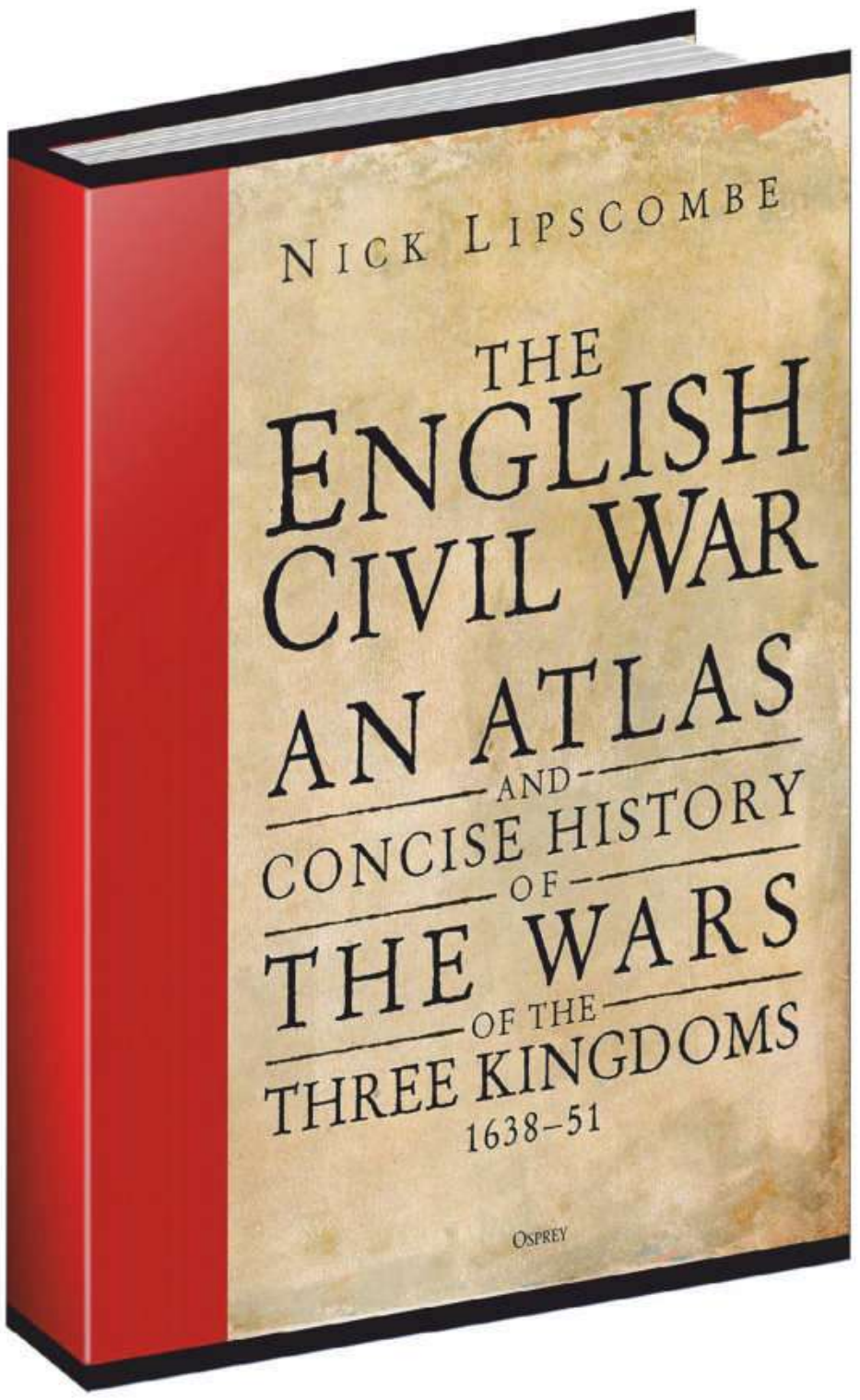
Out now!

THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR:

AN ATLAS AND CONCISE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE THREE KINGDOMS

A new approach to a tumultuous period

Author Nick Lipscombe **Publisher** Osprey Press **Price** £50 **Released** Out now



"An innovative and utterly fascinating work that is part-atlas, part-history"

The tumultuous tale of the English Civil War has been revisited often, but *The English Civil War: An Atlas And Concise History Of The Wars Of The Three Kingdoms* offers a refreshing new approach. From 1639 to 1651, the country was gripped by unrest and violence that resulted in thousands of casualties and, ultimately, the execution of a monarch. It was a brutal conflict that touched every corner of the nation and though locations such as Marston Moor and Naseby are well-known, these were far from the only places that played a part in the reshaping of the political and royal landscape.

Nick Lipscombe's new work isn't simply another history of the Civil War, but an innovative and utterly fascinating work that's part-atlas, part-history. From the first blows of the Bishops' War to the dawn of the Protectorate, it takes us on a very literal journey across the three kingdoms, accompanied by over 150 beautifully presented and annotated maps.

To approach the English Civil War by means of an atlas is a masterstroke and Lipscombe ably uses the format to illustrate and describe not only the major battles but also smaller skirmishes and moments of political importance. The format brings an entirely new dimension to the topic and brings to life not only the sheer volume of engagements, but also the vast geographical extent of the war.

The book is beautifully presented in full colour from the front cover to the back and the maps are perfectly complemented by Lipscombe's incisive text. It's clear that his extensive military career has given him an understanding of battle tactics and the complex issues that any commander has to face, but this is no field manual that will leave civilians bewildered. Likewise, Lipscombe manages to untangle the sometimes labyrinthine political struggles that were being fought away from the battlefield, ably guiding the reader through the debating chamber and the field of war alike. What emerges is a vivid and evocative portrait of a changing world peopled by a cast of well-drawn characters on both sides, from Oliver Cromwell and King Charles I to the commanders, politicians and ordinary soldiers who joined their opposing causes.

The English Civil War: An Atlas And Concise History Of The Wars Of The Three Kingdoms is a fascinating and essential read for scholars, enthusiasts and casual readers alike. Lipscombe's text is always accessible, clear and engaging and the accompanying maps lend an entirely new dimension to the sprawling and bloody conflict. They're supported by an invaluable glossary and a comprehensive bibliography should readers wish to dive deeper into this fascinating period of history.

Though *The English Civil War* certainly carries a fairly hefty price tag at first glance, especially for the more casual historical or geographical enthusiast, it reflects the exceptional production values of this large and impressive volume. This book will doubtless become a cornerstone of Civil War study, and deservedly so. ***CC***

★★★★★

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

MALCOLM X

Director: Spike Lee **Starring:** Denzel Washington, Angela Bassett, Albert Hall **Country:** USA **Released:** 1992

A sweeping biopic that seemingly leaves no stone unturned

VERDICT: Based on an autobiography, so rarely misses the mark

01 Just as depicted in the movie, Malcolm lived in Harlem, New York, as a young man and became involved in criminal activities. He was arrested and convicted of larceny and breaking and entering in 1946. It was while in prison that he would find Islam.

02 Contrary to the movie, it was his siblings who introduced him to Islam, not a fellow prisoner. John Elton Bembry got him interested in reading, which later expanded to religion. In the movie a character named Baines takes on this role, merging the two stories.

03 Upon leaving jail Malcolm drops his surname Little and adopts X as his last name, becoming a minister in the Nation of Islam. As shown in the film, he rises up through the ranks as a fiery and sometimes controversial speaker, building a strong base in Harlem.

04 The film accurately depicts Malcolm X's pilgrimage to Mecca (he actually travelled abroad on a number of occasions) and the revelation he experienced of seeing Islam as a multi-ethnic faith. His newfound openness was always through conversion to Islam, though.

05 The assassination of Malcolm X remains a hotly debated event. Spike Lee took his depiction largely from the FBI report, which is disputed. The overall series of events, from scuffle in the Audubon Ballroom to Malcolm X being shot, appear accurate.

Main image: © Alamy
5x inset image source: Warner Bros

ANZAC BISCUITS

Ingredients

- 100g plain flour
- 100g caster sugar
- 100g butter, plus extra for greasing
- 85g rolled oats
- 85g desiccated coconut
- 2 tbsp boiling water
- 1 tbsp golden syrup
- 1 tbsp bicarbonate of soda

Did you know?

It's believed that the first recipe for modern Anzac biscuits dates back to the early 1920s

Main image: © Alamy
Inset image source: wiki/The Frick Collection

A DELICIOUS CELEBRATORY TREAT, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, 20TH CENTURY – PRESENT

Anzac biscuits are named after the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC), which fought at Gallipoli, Turkey, in 1915. It's commonly believed that these biscuits were sent to the troops but this is a myth – the biscuits that they ate were rock-hard and could break teeth, unlike Anzac biscuits. Instead, Anzac biscuits were eaten by those at home, usually at events such as galas held to raise funds for the war effort, and so they subsequently became associated with the soldiers. Today, Anzac biscuits are widely available and are often made on Anzac Day, a national day of remembrance held on 25 April in Australia and New Zealand. Perfect with a cup of tea or coffee, this simple recipe can be enjoyed by the whole family.

METHOD

01 Preheat your oven to 180°/160° fan/gas mark 4. Line two baking trays with baking paper and grease them with the extra butter. Add the rolled oats, flour, sugar and coconut to a bowl.

02 Melt the butter in a pan and stir in the golden syrup until the mixture is smooth. Mix the bicarbonate of soda with the boiling water and then add this to the pan with the butter and golden syrup.

03 Use the back of a spoon to make a well in the middle of the dry ingredients in the bowl. Pour the melted butter and golden syrup into this well and stir gently to combine all the ingredients.

04 Roll tablespoons of the oat mixture into balls and place about 3cm to 5cm apart so they have room to spread – bake the biscuits in batches if you need to. Place the biscuits in the oven for eight to 10 minutes until they're golden in colour.

05 Transfer the biscuits to a wire rack to cool. Serve the Anzac biscuits with your hot beverage of choice!

NEXT MONTH DOWNFALL OF THOMAS CROMWELL ON SALE 11 NOV

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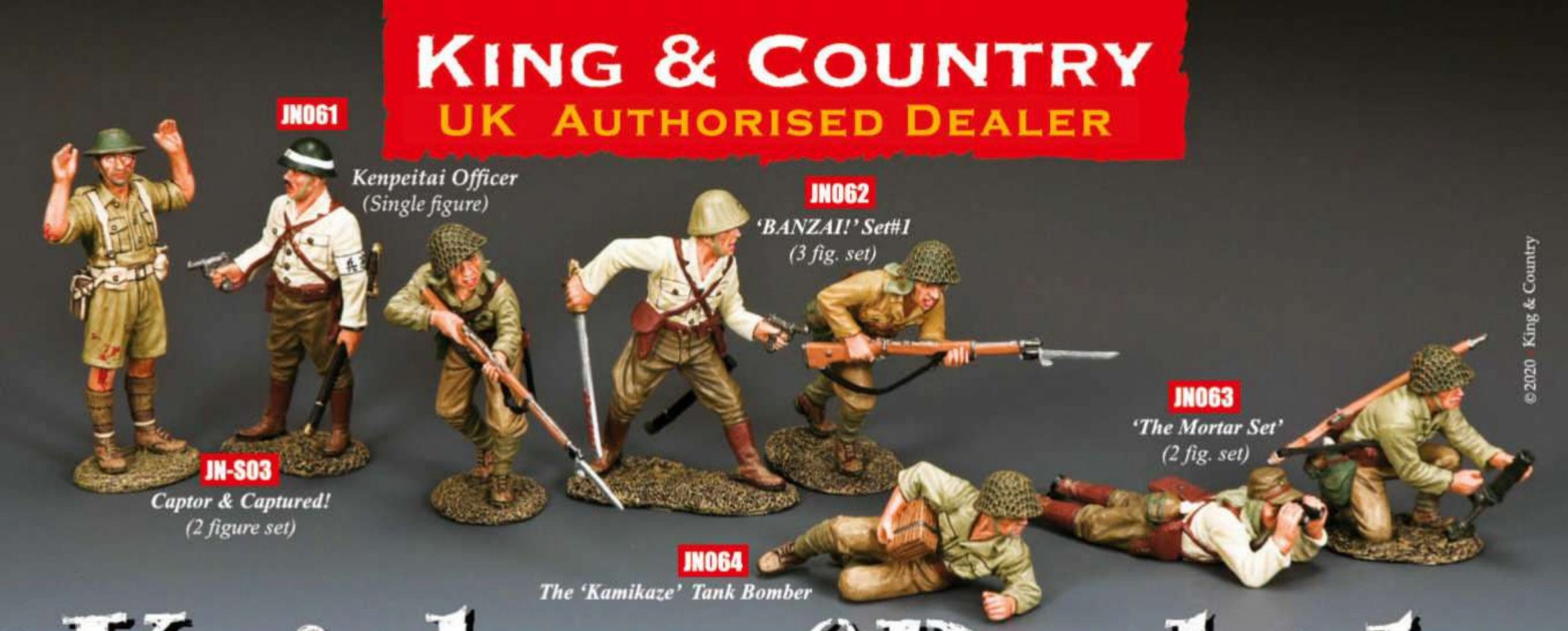

Knights of Bushido

During WW2, *'BUSHIDO'*, originally an ancient *Samurai* code of honour dedicated to their way of life and concept of chivalry was transformed into Imperial Japan's cruel and violent way to wage war on enemy soldiers and civilians.

Japanese soldiers were indoctrinated with the belief that to die for the Emperor was their greatest honour... and to be captured was their worst shame.

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